



Presented to
Chas. Y. Swan.
By his Father.
Christmas.

1865.

A decorative flourish consisting of a series of elegant, sweeping curves and loops, typical of 19th-century calligraphy.

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PUTNAM AND THE WOLF.

LIFE
OF
ISRAEL PUTNAM,

MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE ARMY OF THE
UNITED STATES.

ON THE BASIS OF THE MEMOIRS BY
COLONEL DAVID HUMPHREYS,
HIS COMPANION IN ARMS.

NEW YORK :
SHELDON, LAMPORT & BLAKEMAN,
No. 115 Nassau Street.
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PREFACE.

GENERAL PUTNAM is deservedly considered one of the ablest and bravest officers to which this country has given birth. His services in the French and Indian wars, which preceded the Revolution, were so remarkable, and his character for courage and ability so well known, that immediately on the commencement of hostilities between the American colonies and the mother country, he was placed in the foremost rank of generals. His conduct at the battle of Bunker Hill was questioned by General Dearborn, nearly half a century after that celebrated event ; but a host of defenders instantly started up, and

living witnesses were found in abundance to justify the truth of history and vindicate the character of the veteran commander.

During all the early part of the Revolution, he was intrusted by Washington with the most difficult and important commands; but his constitution was so broken by a series of hardships encountered during his military life, that an attack of palsy rendered him incapable of further duty, and deprived the country of his services during the latter years of the Revolution.

The following biography is based upon the best memoir of him which has ever appeared, written by Colonel Humphreys, his companion in arms, and delivered as an address to the Society of the Cincinnati. But slight alterations from the original work have been made, and those generally in the way of curtailment.

LIFE OF GENERAL PUTNAM.

ISRAEL PUTNAM was born at Salem, in the province (now state) of Massachusetts, on the 7th day of January, 1718. His father, Captain Joseph Putnam, was the son of Mr. John Putnam, who, with two brothers, came from the south of England, and were among the first settlers of Salem.

His early instruction was not considerable, and the active scenes of life in which he was afterwards engaged, prevented the opportunity of great literary improvement. His

numerous original letters, though deficient in scholastic accuracy, always display the goodness of his heart, and frequently the strength of his native genius. He had a certain laconic mode of expression, and an unaffected epigrammatic turn, which characterized most of his writings.

To compensate partially for the deficiency of education (though nothing can remove or counterbalance the inconveniences experienced from it in public life) he derived from his parents the source of innumerable advantages in the stamina of a vigorous constitution.

Courage, enterprise, activity, and perseverance were the first characteristics of his mind. There is a kind of mechanical courage, the

offspring of pride, habit, or discipline, that may push a coward not only to perform his duty, but even to venture on acts of heroism. Putnam's courage was of a different species. It was ever attended with a serenity of soul, a clearness of conception, a degree of self-possession, and a superiority to all the vicissitudes of fortune, entirely distinct from anything that can be produced by the ferment of blood, and flutter of spirits ; which not unfrequently precipitate men to action, when stimulated by intoxication or some other transient exhilaration. The heroic character, thus founded on constitution and animal spirits, cherished by education and ideas of personal freedom, confirmed by temperance and habits of ex-

ercise, was completed by the dictate of reason, the love of his country, and an invincible sense of duty. Such were the qualities and principles that enabled him to meet unappalled the shafts of adversity, and to pass in triumph through the furnace of affliction.

His disposition was as frank and generous as his mind was fearless and independent. He disguised nothing ; indeed he seemed incapable of disguise. Perhaps in the intercourse he was ultimately obliged to have with an artful world, his sincerity, on some occasions, outwent his discretion. Although he had too much suavity in his nature to commence a quarrel, he had too much sensibility not to feel, and too much honour not to resent an

intended insult. The first time he went to Boston he was insulted for his rusticity by a boy of twice his size and age ; after bearing the sarcasms until his patience was worn out, he challenged, engaged, and vanquished his unmannerly antagonist, to the great diversion of a crowd of spectators. While a strippling, his ambition was to perform the labour of a man, and to excel in athletic diversions. In that rude, but masculine age, whenever the village youth assembled on their usual occasions of festivity, pitching the bar, running, leaping, and wrestling were favourite amusements. At such gymnastic exercises (in which, during the heroic times of ancient Greece and Rome, conquest was considered as the pro-

mise of future military fame) he bore the palm from almost every ring.

Mr. Putnam, before he attained the twenty-first year of his age, married Miss Pope, daughter of Mr. John Pope of Salem, by whom he had ten children. He lost the wife of his youth in 1764. Some time after he married Mrs. Gardiner, widow of Mr. Gardiner of Gardiner's Island, by whom he had no issue. She died in 1777.

THE WOLF.

In the year 1739 he removed from Salem to Pomfret, an inland fertile town in Connecticut, forty miles east of Hartford: having here purchased a considerable tract of land, he applied himself successfully to agriculture.

The first years, on a new farm, are not, however, exempt from disasters and disappointments, which can only be remedied by stubborn and patient industry. Our farmer, sufficiently occupied in building a house and barn, felling woods, making fences, sowing grain, planting orchards, and taking care of his stock, had to encounter, in turn, the calamities occasioned by drought in summer, blast in harvest, loss of cattle in winter, and the desolation of his sheepfold by wolves. In one night he had seventy fine sheep and goats killed, besides many lambs and kids wounded. This havoc was committed by a she wolf, which, with her annual whelps, had for several years infested the vicinity. The young were commonly destroy-

ed by the vigilance of the hunters, but the old one was too sagacious to come within reach of gunshot: upon being closely pursued, she would generally fly to the western woods, and return the next winter with another litter of whelps.

This wolf, at length, became such an intolerable nuisance, that Mr. Putnam entered into a combination with five of his neighbours to hunt alternately until they could destroy her. Two, by rotation, were to be constantly in pursuit. It was known, that, having lost the toes from one foot, by a steel-trap, she made one track shorter than the other. By this vestige, the pursuers recognised, in a light snow, the route of this pernicious animal. Having followed her to Connecticut

river and found she had turned back in a direct course towards Pomfret, they immediately returned, and by ten o'clock the next morning, the blood-hounds had driven her into a den, about three miles distant from the house of Mr. Putnam. The people soon collected, with dogs, guns, straw, fire and sulphur, to attack the common enemy. With this apparatus several unsuccessful efforts were made to force her from the den. The hounds came back badly wounded and refused to return. The smoke of blazing straw had no effect. Nor did the fumes of burnt brimstone, with which the cavern was filled, compel her to quit the retirement.

Wearied with such fruitless attempts (which had brought the time

to ten o'clock at night), Mr. Putnam tried once more to make his dog enter, but in vain; he proposed to his negro man to go down into the cavern and shoot the wolf: the negro declined the hazardous service. Then it was that the master, angry at the disappointment, and declaring that he was ashamed to have a coward in his family, resolved himself to destroy the ferocious beast, lest she should escape through some unknown fissure of the rock. His neighbours strongly remonstrated against the perilous enterprise: but he, knowing that wild animals were intimidated by fire, and having provided several strips of birch-bark, the only combustible material which he could obtain that would afford light in this deep and darksome cave,

prepared for his descent. Having, accordingly, divested himself of his coat and waistcoat, and having a long rope fastened round his legs, by which he might be pulled back, at a concerted signal, he entered head foremost, with the blazing torch in his hand.

The aperture of the den, on the east side of a very high ledge of rocks, is about two feet square; from thence it descends obliquely fifteen feet, then running horizontally about ten more, it ascends gradually sixteen feet towards its termination. The sides of this subterraneous cavity are composed of smooth and solid rocks, which seem to have been divided from each other by some former earthquake. The top and bottom are also of stone,

and the entrance, in winter, being covered with ice, is exceedingly slippery. It is in no place high enough for a man to raise himself upright, nor in any part more than three feet in width.

Having groped his passage to the horizontal part of the den, the most terrifying darkness appeared in front of the dim circle of light afforded by his torch. It was silent as the house of death. None but monsters of the desert had ever before explored this solitary mansion of horror. He, cautiously proceeding onward, came to the ascent; which he slowly mounted on his hands and knees until he discovered the glaring eye-balls of the wolf, who was sitting at the extremity of the cavern. Startled at the sight

of fire, she gnashed her teeth, and gave a sullen growl. As soon as he had made the necessary discovery, he kicked the rope as a signal for pulling him out. The people at the mouth of the den, who had listened with painful anxiety, hearing the growling of the wolf, and supposing their friend to be in the most imminent danger, drew him forth with such celerity that his shirt was stripped over his head, and his skin severely lacerated.

After he had adjusted his clothes, and loaded his gun with nine buck-shot, holding a torch in one hand and the musket in the other, he descended the second time. When he drew nearer than before, the wolf, assuming a still more fierce and terrible appearance, howling,

rolling her eyes, snapping her teeth, and dropping her head between her legs, was evidently in the attitude, and on the point of springing at him. At the critical instant he levelled and fired at her head. Stunned with the shock, and suffocated with the smoke, he immediately found himself drawn out of the cave. But having refreshed himself, and permitted the smoke to dissipate, he went down the third time. Once more he came within sight of the wolf, who appearing very passive, he applied the torch to her nose, and perceiving her dead, he took hold of her ears, and then kicking the rope (still tied round his legs) the people above with no small exultation dragged them both out together.



PUTNAM AND THE WOLF.



Prosperity, at length, began to attend the agricultural affairs of Mr. Putnam. He was acknowledged to be a skilful and indefatigable manager. His fields were mostly enclosed with stone walls. His crops commonly succeeded, because the land was well tilled and manured. His pastures and meadows became luxuriant. His cattle were of the best breed, and in good order; his garden and fruit-trees prolific. With the avails of the surplusage of his produce, foreign articles were purchased. Within doors he found the compensation of his labours in the plenty of excellent provisions, as well as in the happiness of domestic society.

SERVICES IN THE CAMPAIGN OF
1755.

But the time had now arrived which was to turn the instruments of husbandry into weapons of hostility, and to exchange the hunting of wolves, who had ravaged the sheepfolds, for the pursuit after savages, who had desolated the frontiers. Mr. Putnam was about 37 years old, when the war between England and France, which preceded the revolution, broke out in America. His reputation must have been favourably known to the government, since among the first troops that were levied by Connecticut, in 1755, he was appointed to the command of a company in Lyman's regiment of Provincials.

As he was extremely popular, he found no difficulty in enlisting his complement of recruits from the most hardy, enterprising, and respectable young men of his neighbourhood. The regiment joined the army, at the opening of the campaign, not far distant from Crown Point. Soon after his arrival at camp, he became intimately acquainted with the famous partisan Captain, afterwards Major Rogers, with whom he was frequently associated in traversing the wilderness, reconnoitring the enemy's lines, gaining intelligence, and taking straggling prisoners, as well as in beating up the quarters and surprising the advanced pickets of their army. For these operations a corps of rangers was

formed from the irregulars. The first time Rogers and Putnam were detached with a party of these light troops, it was the fortune of the latter to preserve, with his own hand, the life of the former, and to cement their friendship with the blood of one of their enemies.

The object of this expedition was to obtain an accurate knowledge of the position and state of the works at Crown Point. It was impracticable to approach with their party near enough for this purpose, without being discovered. Alone, the undertaking was sufficiently hazardous, on account of the swarms of hostile Indians who infested the woods. Our two partisans, however, left all their men at a convenient distance, with strict orders to

continue concealed until their return. Having thus cautiously taken their arrangements, they advanced with the profoundest silence in the evening; and lay, during the night, contiguous to the fortress.

Early in the morning they approached so close as to be able to give satisfactory information to the general who had sent them, on the several points to which their attention had been directed; but Captain Rogers, being at a little distance from Captain Putnam, fortuitously met a stout Frenchman, who instantly seized his fusee with one hand, and with the other attempted to stab him, while he called to an adjacent guard for assistance. The guard answered.

Putnam, perceiving the imminent danger of his friend, and that no time was to be lost, or further alarm given by firing, ran rapidly to them, while they were yet struggling, and with the but-end of his piece laid the Frenchman dead at his feet. The partisans, to elude pursuit, precipitated their flight, joined the party, and returned without loss to the encampment. Not many occasions occurred for partisans to display their talents in the course of this summer.

The war was chequered with various fortune in different quarters—such as the total defeat of General Braddock, and the splendid victory of Sir William Johnson over the French troops, commanded by the Baron Dieskau. The brilliancy

of this success was necessary to console the Americans for the disgrace of that disaster. The time for which the colonial troops engaged to serve terminated with the campaign. Putnam was reappointed, and again took the field in 1756.

SERVICES IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1756.

Few are so ignorant of war as not to know, that military adventures, in the night, are always extremely liable to accidents. Captain Putnam, having been commanded to reconnoitre the enemy's camp at *the Ovens* near *Ticonderoga*, took the brave Lieutenant Robert Durkee as his companion. In attempting to execute these or-

ders he narrowly missed being taken himself in the first instance, and killing his friend in the second. It was customary for the British and Provincial troops to place their fires round their camp, which frequently exposed them to the enemy's scouts and patroles. A contrary practice, then unknown in the English army, prevailed among the French and Indians. The plan was much more rational; they kept their fires in the centre, lodged their men circularly at a distance, and posted their sentinels in the surrounding darkness.

Our partisans approached the camp, and supposing the sentries were within the circle of fires, crept upon their hands and knees with the greatest possible caution, until,

to their utter astonishment, they found themselves in the thickest of the enemy. The sentinels, discovering them, fired and slightly wounded Durkee in the thigh. He and Putnam had no alternative. They fled. The latter, being foremost and scarcely able to see his hand before him, soon plunged into a clay-pit. Durkee, almost at the identical moment, came tumbling after. Putnam, by no means pleased at finding a companion, and believing him to be one of the enemy, lifted his tomahawk to give the deadly blow, when Durkee (who had followed so closely as to know him) inquired, whether he had escaped unhurt. Captain Putnam instantly recognising the voice, dropped his weapon: and both,

springing from the pit, made good their retreat to the neighbouring ledges, amidst a shower of random shot. There they betook themselves to a large log, by the side of which they lodged the remainder of the night. Before they lay down, Captain Putnam said he had a little rum in his canteen, which could never be more acceptable or necessary; but on examining the canteen, which hung under his arm, he found the enemy had pierced it with their balls, and that there was not a drop of liquor left. The next day he found fourteen bullet holes in his blanket.

In the same summer a body of the enemy, consisting of 600 men, attacked the baggage and provision wagons at a place called the Half-

Way-Brook ; it being equidistant from Fort Edward and the south end of Lake George. Having killed the oxen and plundered the wagons, they retreated with their booty without having met with such resistance as might have been expected from the strength of the escort. General Webb, upon receiving intelligence of this disaster, ordered Captains Putnam and Rogers "to take 100 volunteers in boats, with two wall-pieces and two blunderbusses, and to proceed down Lake George to a certain point: there to leave the batteaux under a proper guard, and thence to cross by land, so as to harass, and, if practicable, intercept the retreating enemy at the narrows."

These orders were executed with

so much punctuality, that the party arrived at the destined place half an hour before the hostile boats came in view. Here they waited, under cover, until the enemy (ignorant of these proceedings) entered the narrows with their batteaux loaded with plunder. Then the volunteers poured upon them volley after volley, killed many of the oarsmen, sunk a number of their batteaux, and would soon have destroyed the whole body of the enemy, had not the unusual precipitancy of their passage (favoured by the wind) carried them through the narrows into the wide part of South Bay, where they were out of the reach of musket-shot.

The shattered remnant of the little fleet soon arrived at Ticondero-

ga, and gave information that Putnam and Rogers were at the narrows. A fresh party was instantly detached to cut them in pieces, on their return to Fort Edward. Our partisans, sensible of the probability of such an attempt, and being full twenty miles from their boats, strained every nerve to reach them as soon as possible ; which they effected the same night.

Next day, when they had returned as far as Sabbath-Day Point, they discovered, on shore, the beforementioned detachment of 300 men, who had passed them in the night, and who now, on perceiving our party, took to their boats with the greatest alacrity, and rowed out to give battle. They advanced in line, maintaining a good mien, and felicitating

themselves upon the prospect of an easy conquest, from the great superiority of their numbers. Flushed with these expectations, they were permitted to come within pistol-shot before a gun was fired. At once, the wall-pieces and blunderbusses, which had been brought to rake them in the most vulnerable point, were discharged. As no such reception had been foreseen, the assailants were thrown into the utmost disorder. Their terror and confusion were greatly increased by a well-directed and most destructive fire of the small arms. The larger pieces being reloaded, without annoyance, continued alternately with the musketry to make dreadful havoc, until the rout was completed and the enemy driven back to Ticonderoga.

In this action, one of the bark canoes contained twenty Indians, of whom fifteen were killed. Great numbers, from other boats, both of French and Indians, were seen to fall overboard : but the amount of their total loss could never be ascertained. Rogers and Putnam had but one man killed, and two slightly wounded. They now landed on the point, and having refreshed their men at leisure, returned in good order to the British camp.

Soon after these rencounters, a singular kind of race was run by our nimble-footed Provincial and an active young Frenchman. The liberty of each was by turns at stake. General Webb, wanting a prisoner for the sake of intelligence, sent Capt. Putnam with five men to pro-

cure one. The captain concealed himself near the road which leads from Ticonderoga to the Ovens. His men seemed fond of showing themselves, which unsoldier-like conduct he prohibited with the severest reprehension. This rebuke they imputed to unnecessary fear. The observation is as true as vulgar, that persons distinguishable for temerity, when there is no apparent danger, are generally poltroons whenever danger approaches.

They had not lain long, in the high grass, before a Frenchman and an Indian passed—the Indian was considerably in advance. As soon as the former had gone by, Putnam, relying on the fidelity of his men, sprang up, ran, and ordered them to follow. After running about

thirty rods, he seized the Frenchman by the shoulders, and forced him to surrender : But his prisoner, looking round, perceiving no other enemy, and knowing the Indian would be ready in a moment to assist him, began to make an obstinate resistance. Putnam, finding himself betrayed by his men into a perilous dilemma, let go his hold, stepped back and snapped his piece, which was levelled at the Frenchman's breast. It missed fire. Upon this he thought it most prudent to retreat. The Frenchman, in turn, chased him back to his men, who, at last, raised themselves from the grass ; which his pursuer espying in good time for himself, made his escape.

Putnam, mortified that these men

had frustrated his success, dismissed them with disgrace; and not long after accomplished his object. Such little feats as the capture of a single prisoner, may be of infinitely more consequence than some who are unacquainted with military affairs would be apt to imagine. In a country covered with woods, like that part of America then the seat of war, the difficulty of procuring, and the importance of possessing good intelligence, can scarcely be conceived even by European commanders. They, however, who know its value, will not appreciate lightly the services of an able partisan.

Nothing worthy of remark happened during this campaign, except the loss of Oswego. That

fort, which had been built by General Shirley, to protect the peltry trade, cover the country on the Mohawk River, and facilitate an invasion of Canada, by Frontenac and Niagara, fell into the hands of the enemy, with a garrison of sixteen hundred men, and one hundred pieces of cannon,

The active services of Captain Putnam on every occasion attracted the admiration of the public, and induced the Legislature of Connecticut to promote him to a majority in 1757.

Lord Loudon was then Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in America. The expedition against Crown Point, which from the commencement of hostilities had been in contemplation,

seemed to give place to a more important operation that was meditated against Louisbourg. But the arrival of the Brest squadron at that place prevented the attempt: and the loss of Fort William Henry served to class this with the two former unsuccessful campaigns. It was rumoured, and partially credited at the time, that General Webb, who commanded in the northern department, had early intimation of the movement of the French army, and might have effectually succoured the garrison. The subsequent facts will place the affair in its proper light.

A few days before the siege, Major Putnam, with two hundred men, escorted General Webb from Fort Edward to Fort William

Henry. The object was to examine the state of this fortification, which stood at the southern extremity of Lake George. Several abortive attempts having been made by Major Rogers and others in the night season, Major Putnam proposed to go down the lake in open daylight, land at Northwest Bay, and tarry on shore until he could make satisfactory discovery of the enemy's actual situation at Ticonderoga and the adjacent posts. The plan (which he suggested) of landing with only five men, and sending back the boats, to prevent detection, was deemed too hazardous by the general.

At length, however, he was permitted to proceed with eighteen volunteers in three whale boats ;

but before he arrived at Northwest Bay he discovered a body of men on an island. Immediately upon this, he left two boats to fish at a distance, that they might not occasion an alarm, and returned himself with the information. The general, seeing him rowing back with great velocity, in a single boat, concluded the others were captured, and sent a skiff, with orders for him alone to come on shore. After advising the general of the circumstances, he urged the expediency of returning to make further discoveries, and bring off the boats. Leave was reluctantly given. He found his people, and, passing still onward, discovered (by the aid of a good perspective glass) a large army in motion.

By this time several of the advanced canoes had nearly surrounded him; but by the swiftness of his whale boats, he escaped through the midst of them. On his return, he informed the general minutely of all he had seen, and intimated his conviction that the expedition must obviously be destined against Fort William Henry. That commander, strictly enjoining silence on the subject, directed him to put his men under an oath of secrecy, and to prepare, without loss of time, to return to the headquarters of the army. Major Putnam observed, "he hoped his Excellency did not intend to neglect so fair an opportunity of giving battle, should the enemy presume to land." "What do you think

we should do here?" replied the general. Accordingly, the next day he returned, and the day after Colonel Monro was ordered from Fort Edward, with his regiment, to reinforce the garrison. That officer took with him all his rich baggage and camp equipage, notwithstanding Major Putnam's advice to the contrary. The day following his arrival, the enemy landed and besieged the place.

The Marquis de Montcalm, Commander-in-Chief for the French in Canada, intending to take advantage of the absence of a large proportion of the British force, which he understood to be employed under Lord Loudon against Louisbourg, had assembled whatever men could be spared from

Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and the other garrisons : with these he had combined a considerable corps of Canadians, and a larger body of Indians than had ever before been collected ; making in the whole an army of nearly eight thousand men. Our garrison consisted of twenty-five hundred, and was commanded by Colonel Monro, a very gallant officer, who found the means of sending express after express to General Webb, with an account of his situation, and the most pressing solicitation for succour. In the meantime, the army at Fort Edward, which originally amounted to about four thousand, had been considerably augmented by Johnson's troops and the militia. On the 8th or 9th day after the

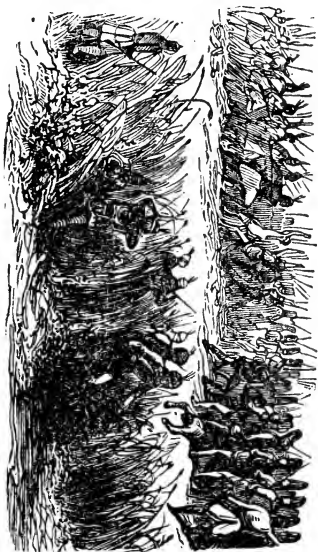
landing of the French, General Johnson (in consequence of repeated applications) was suffered to march for the relief of the garrison, with all the Provincials, Militia, and Putnam's Rangers; but before they had proceeded three miles, the order was countermanded, and they returned. M. de Montcalm informed Major Putnam, when a prisoner in Canada, that one of his running Indians saw and reported this movement: and, upon being questioned relative to the numbers, answered in their figurative style, "*If you can count the leaves on the trees, you can count them.*" In effect, the operations of the siege were suspended, and preparations made for re-embarking, when another of the

runners reported that the detachment had gone back. The Marquis de Montcalm, provided with a good train of artillery, meeting with no annoyance from the British army, and but inconsiderable interruption from the garrison, accelerated his approaches so rapidly, as to obtain possession of the fort in a short time after completing its investiture. An intercepted letter from General Webb, advising the surrender, was sent into the fort to Colonel Monro by the French general.

The garrison engaged not to serve for eighteen months, and were permitted to march out with the honours of war. But the savages regarded not the capitulation; nor could they be restrained by the utmost exertion of the

commanding officer, from committing the most outrageous acts of cruelty. They stripped and plundered all the prisoners, and murdered great numbers in cold blood. Those who escaped by flight, or the protection of the French, arrived in a forlorn condition at Fort Edward. Among these was the commandant of the garrison.

The day succeeding this deplorable scene of carnage and barbarity, Major Putnam having been dispatched with his Rangers to watch the motions of the enemy, came to the shore, when their rear was scarcely beyond the reach of musket shot. They had carried off all the cannon, stores, and water craft. The fort was demolished. The barracks, the out-



MASSACRE AT FORT WILLIAM HENRY.

houses and sutlers' booths were heaps of ruins. The fires, not yet extinct, and the smoke, offensive from the mucilaginous nature of the fuel, but ill concealed innumerable fragments of human skulls and bones, and, in some instances, carcasses half consumed. Dead bodies, weltering in blood, were every where to be seen, violated, with all the wanton mutilations of savage ingenuity. More than one hundred women, some with their brains still oozing from the battered heads, others with their whole hair wrenched collectively with the skin from the bloody skulls, and many (with their throats cut) most inhumanly stabbed and butchered, lay stripped entirely naked, with their bowels

torn out, and afforded a spectacle too horrible for description.

Not long after this misfortune, General Lyman succeeded to the command of Fort Edward. He resolved to strengthen it. For this purpose one hundred and fifty men were employed in cutting timber. To cover them, Captain Little was posted (with fifty British regulars) at the head of a thick swamp about one hundred rods eastward of the fort—to which his communication lay over a tongue of land, formed on the one side by the swamp, and by a creek on the other.

One morning, at daybreak, a sentinel saw indistinctly several birds, as he conceived, come from the swamp and fly over him with

incredible swiftness. While he was ruminating on these wonderful birds, and endeavouring to form some idea of their colour, shape and size, an arrow buried itself in the limb of a tree just above his head. He now discovered the quality and design of these winged messengers of fate, and gave the alarm. Instantly the working party began to retreat along the defile. A large body of savages had concealed themselves in the morass before the guard was posted, and were attempting in this way to kill the sentinel without noise, with design to surprise the whole party. Finding the alarm given, they rushed from the covert, shot and tomahawked those who were nearest at hand, and pressed hard

on the remainder of the unarmed fugitives. Captain Little flew to their relief, and, by pouring on the Indians a well timed fire, checked the pursuit, and enabled such of the fatigue-men as did not fall in the first onset, to retire to the fort. Thither he sent for assistance, his little party being almost overpowered by numbers. But the commandant, imagining that the main body of the enemy were approaching for a general assault, called in his outposts and shut the gates.

Major Putnam lay, with his Rangers, on an island adjacent to the fort. Having heard the musketry, and learned that his friend Captain Little was in the utmost peril, he plunged into the river at the head of his corps, and waded

through the water towards the place of engagement. This brought him so near to the fort, that General Lyman, apprised of his design, and unwilling that the lives of a few more brave men should be exposed to what he deemed inevitable destruction, mounted the parapet and ordered him to proceed no further. The major only took time to make the best short apology he could, and marched on. This is the only instance in the whole course of his military service wherein he did not pay the strictest obedience to orders; and in this instance his motive was highly commendable. But when such conduct, even if sanctified by success, is passed over with impunity, it demonstrates that all is not right

in the military system. In a disciplined army, such as that of the United States became under General Washington, an officer guilty of a slighter violation of orders, however elevated in rank or meritorious in service, would have been brought before the bar of a court-martial.

The Rangers of Putnam soon opened their way for a junction with the little handful of regulars, who still obstinately maintained their ground. By his advice the whole rushed impetuously with shouts and huzzas into the swamp. The savages fled on every side, and were chased, with no inconsiderable loss on their part, as long as the daylight lasted. On ours only one man was killed in

the pursuit. His death was immediately revenged by that of the Indian who shot him. This Indian was one of the runners—a chosen body of active young men, who are made use of not only to procure intelligence and convey tidings, but also to guard the rear on a retreat.

CAMPAIGN OF 1757.

We come to the campaign when General Abercrombie took the command at Fort Edward. That general ordered Major Putnam, with sixty men, to proceed by land to South-Bay, on Lake George, for the purpose of making discoveries, and intercepting the enemy's parties. The latter, in compliance with these orders, posted

himself at Wood Creek, near its entrance into South-Bay. On this bank, which forms a jutting precipice ten or twelve feet above the water, he erected a stone parapet thirty feet in length, and masked it with young pine trees, cut at a distance, and so artfully planted as to imitate the natural growth. From hence he sent back fifteen of his men, who had fallen sick. Distress for want of provisions, occasioned by the length of march, and time spent on this temporary fortification, compelled him to deviate from a rule he had established, never to permit a gun to be fired but at an enemy while on a scout. He was now obliged himself to shoot a buck, which had jumped into the creek, in order to eke out

their scanty subsistence until the fourth day after the completion of the works.

About ten o'clock that evening, one of the men on duty at the margin of the bay, informed him that a fleet of bark canoes, filled with men, was steering towards the mouth of the creek. He immediately called in all his sentinels, and ordered every man to his post. A profound stillness reigned in the atmosphere, and the full moon shone with uncommon brightness. The creek which the enemy entered, is about six rods wide, and the bank opposite to the parapet above twenty feet high. It was intended to permit the canoes in front to pass—they had accordingly just passed, when a soldier accidentally struck

his firelock against a stone. The commanding officer in the van canoe heard the noise, and repeated several times the savage watch-word,—OWISH! Instantly the canoes huddled together, with their centre precisely in front of the works, covering the creek for a considerable distance above and below.

The officers appeared to be in deep consultation, and the fleet on the point of returning, when Major Putnam, who had ordered his men in the most peremptory manner not to fire until he should set the example, gave the signal by discharging his piece. They fired. Nothing could exceed the inextricable confusion and apparent consternation occasioned by this well-con-

certed attack. But, at last, the enemy finding, from the unfrequency (though there was no absolute intermission) in the firing, that the number of our men must be small, resolved to land below and surround them. Putnam, apprehensive of this from the movement, sent Lieutenant Robert Durkee, with twelve men, about thirty rods down the creek, who arrived in time to repulse the party which attempted to land. Another small detachment under Lieutenant Parsons, was ordered up the creek to prevent any similar attempt. In the mean time Major Putnam kept up, through the whole night, an incessant and deadly fire on the main body of the enemy, without receiving any thing in return but shot void of effect,

accompanied with dolorous groans, miserable shrieks, and dismal savage yells. After day-break he was advised that one part of the enemy had effected a landing considerably below, and were rapidly advancing to cut off his retreat. Apprised of the great superiority still opposed to him, as well as of the situation of his own soldiers, some of whom were entirely destitute of ammunition, and the rest reduced to one or two rounds per man, he commanded them to swing their packs. By hastening the retreat, in good order, they had just time to retire far enough up the creek to prevent being enclosed. During this long-continued action, in which the Americans had slain at least five times their own number, only

one Provincial and one Indian were wounded on their side. These unfortunate men had been sent off for camp in the night, with two men to assist them, and directions to proceed by Wood-Creek as the safest, though not the shortest route. But having taken the nearest way, they were pursued and overtaken by the Indians, who, from the blood on the leaves and bushes, believed that they were on the trail of our whole party. The wounded, despairing of mercy, and unable to fly, insisted that the well soldiers should make their escape, which, on a moment's deliberation, they effected. The Provincial, whose thigh was broken by a ball, upon the approach of the savages fired his piece, and killed three of them ;

after which he was quickly hacked in pieces. The Indian, however, was saved alive. This man Major Putnam saw afterwards in Canada, where he likewise learned that his enemy, in the rencounter at Wood-Creek, consisted of five hundred French and Indians, under the command of the celebrated partisan Molang, and that no party, since the war, had suffered so severely, as more than one-half of those who went out never returned.

Our brave little company, reduced to forty in number, had proceeded along the bank of the creek about an hour's march, when Major Putnam, being in front, was fired upon by a party just at hand. He, rightly appreciating the advantage often obtained by assuming a

bold countenance on a critical occasion, in a stentorophonic tone, ordered his men to rush on the enemy, and promised that they should soon give a good account of them. It proved to be a scout of Provincials, who conceived they were firing upon the French ; but the commanding officer, knowing Putnam's voice, cried out, " that they were all friends."—Upon this the major told him abruptly, " that, friends or enemies, they all deserved to be hanged for not killing more when they had so fair a shot." In fact, but one man was mortally wounded. While these things were transacted, a faithful soldier, whose ammunition had been nearly exhausted, made his way to the fort, and gave such information, that

General Lyman was detached with five hundred men to cover the retreat. Major Putnam met them at only twelve miles distance from the fort, to which they returned the next day.

In the winter of 1757, when Colonel Haviland was commandant at Fort Edward, the barracks adjoining to the north-west bastion took fire. They extended within twelve feet of the magazine, which contained three hundred barrels of powder. On its first discovery, the fire raged with great violence. The commandant endeavoured, in vain, by discharging some pieces of heavy artillery against the supporters of this flight of barracks, to level them to the ground. Putnam arrived from the island where

he was^{*} stationed at the moment when the blaze approached that end which was contiguous to the magazine. Instantly a vigorous attempt was made to extinguish the conflagration. A way was opened by a postern gate to the river, and the soldiers were employed in bringing water; which he, having mounted on a ladder to the eaves of the building, received and threw upon the flame. It continued, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, to gain upon them. He stood, enveloped in smoke, so near the sheet of fire, that a pair of thick blanket mittens were burnt entirely from his hands; he was supplied with another pair dipped in water. Col. Haviland, fearing that he would perish in the flames, called to him

to come down. But he entreated that he might be suffered to remain, since destruction must inevitably ensue if their exertions should be remitted. The gallant commandant, not less astonished than charmed at the boldness of his conduct, forbade any more effects to be carried out of the fort, animated the men to redoubled diligence, and exclaimed, "If we must be blown up, we will go all together." At last, when the barracks were seen to be tumbling, Putnam descended, placed himself at the interval, and continued from an incessant rotation of replenished buckets to pour water upon the magazine. The outside planks were already consumed by the proximity of the fire, and as only

one thickness of timber intervened, the trepidation now become general and extreme. Putnam, still undaunted, covered with a cloud of cinders, and scorched with the intensity of the heat, maintained his position until the fire subsided, and the danger was wholly over. He had contended for one hour and a half with that terrible element. His legs, his thighs, his arms, and his face were blistered; and when he pulled off his second pair of mittens, the skin from his hands and fingers followed them. It was a month before he recovered. The commandant, to whom his merits had before endeared him, could not stifle the emotions of gratitude, due to the man who had been so instrumental in preserving the

magazine, the fort, and the garrison.

CAMPAIGN OF 1758.

The repulse before Ticonderoga took place in 1758. General Abercrombie, the British commander-in-chief in America, conducted the expedition. His army, which amounted to nearly sixteen thousand Regulars and Provincials, was amply supplied with artillery and military stores. This well-appointed corps passed over Lake George, and landed without opposition at the point of destination. The troops advanced in columns. Lord Howe, having Major Putnam with him, was in front of the centre. A body of about five hundred men (the advance or pickets of

the French army), which had fled at first, began to skirmish with our left. "Putnam," said Lord Howe, "what means that firing?" "I know not, but with your Lordship's leave will see," replied the former. "I will accompany you," rejoined the gallant young nobleman. In vain did Major Putnam attempt to dissuade him by saying—"My Lord, if I am killed, the loss of my life will be of little consequence, but the preservation of yours is of infinite importance to this army." The only answer was, "Putnam, your life is as dear to you as mine is to me; I am determined to go." One hundred of the van, under Major Putnam, filed off with Lord Howe. They soon met the left flank of

the enemy's advance, by whose first fire his Lordship fell. It was a loss indeed; and particularly felt in the operations which occurred three days afterwards. His manners and his virtues had made him the idol of the army. From his first arrival in America, he had accommodated himself and his regiment to the peculiar nature of the service. Exemplary to the officer, a friend of the soldier, the model of discipline, he had not failed to encounter every hardship and hazard. Nothing could be more calculated to inspire men with the rash animation of rage, or to temper it with the cool perseverance of revenge, than the sight of such a hero, so beloved, fallen in his country's cause. It

had the effect. Putnam's party, having cut their way obliquely through the enemy's ranks, and having been joined by Captain D'Ell, with twenty men, together with some other small parties, charged them so furiously in rear, that nearly three hundred were killed on the spot, and one hundred and forty-eight made prisoners.

In the mean time, from the unskilfulness of the guides, some of our columns were bewildered. The left wing, seeing Putnam's party in their front, advancing over the dead bodies towards them, commenced a brisk and heavy fire, which killed a sergeant and several privates. Nor could they, by sounds or signs, be convinced

of their mistake, until Major Putnam, preferring (if heaven had thus ordained it) the loss of his own life to the loss of the lives of his brave associates, ran through the midst of the flying balls, and prevented the impending catastrophe.

The tender feelings which Major Putnam possessed taught him to respect an unfortunate foe, and to strive, by every lenient art in his power, to alleviate the miseries of war. For this purpose he remained on the field until it began to grow dark, employed in collecting such of the enemy as were left wounded, to one place; he gave them all the liquor and little refreshments which he could procure; he furnished to each of them a

blanket ; he put three blankets under a French serjeant who was badly wounded through the body, and placed him in an easy posture by the side of a tree : the poor fellow could only squeeze his hand with an expressive grasp. “ Ah,” said Major Putnam, “ depend upon it, my brave soldier, you shall be brought to the camp as soon as possible, and the same care shall be taken of you as if you were my brother.” The next morning Major Rogers was sent to reconnoitre the field, and to bring off the wounded prisoners ; but finding the wounded unable to help themselves, in order to save trouble, he despatched every one of them to the world of spirits. Putnam’s was not the only heart that bled.

The Provincial and British officers, who became acquainted with the fact, were struck with inexpressible horror

Ticonderoga is surrounded on three sides by water; on the fourth, for some distance, extends a dangerous morass; the remainder was then fortified with a line eight feet high, and planted with artillery. For one hundred yards in front the plain was covered with great trees, cut for the purpose of defence, whose interwoven and sharpened branches projected outwards. Notwithstanding these impediments, the engineer who had been employed to reconnoitre, reported as his opinion, that the works might be carried with musketry. The difficulty and delay

of dragging the battering cannon over ground almost impracticable, induced the adoption of this fatal advice; to which, however, a rumour that the garrison, already consisting of four or five thousand men, was on the point of being augmented with three thousand more, probably contributed. The attack was as spirited in execution as ill-judged in design. The assailants, after having been for more than four hours exposed to a most fatal fire, without making any impression by their reiterated and obstinate proofs of valour, were ordered to retreat. Major Putnam, who had acted as an aid in bringing the Provincial regiments successively to action, assisted in preserving order. It was said that a

great number of the enemy were shot in the head, every other part having been concealed behind their works. The loss on our side was upwards of two thousand killed and wounded. Twenty-five hundred stand of arms were taken by the French. Our army, after sustaining this havock, retreated with such extraordinary precipitation, that they regained their camp at the southward of Lake George the evening after the action.

The successes in other parts of America made amends for this defeat. Louisbourg, after a vigorous siege, was reduced by Generals Amherst and Wolf: Frontenac, a post of importance on the communication between Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence,

surrendered to Colonel Bradstreet : and Fort Du Quesne, situated at the confluence of the Monongahela with the Ohio (the possession of which had kindled the flame of war that now spread through the four quarters of the globe), was captured by General Forbes.

ADVENTURES WITH THE INDIANS.

A few adventures, in which the public interests were little concerned, but which, from their peculiarity, appear worthy of being preserved, happened before the conclusion of the year. As one day Major Putnam chanced to lie with a batteau and five men, on the eastern shore of the Hudson, near the Rapids, contiguous to which Fort Miller stood, his men on the opposite bank

had given him to understand, that a large body of savages were in his rear, and would be upon him in a moment. To stay and be sacrificed—to attempt crossing and be shot—or to go down the falls, with an almost absolute certainty of being drowned, were the sole alternatives that presented themselves to his choice. So instantaneously was the latter adopted, that one man who had rambled a little from the party, was, of necessity, left, and fell a miserable victim to savage barbarity.

The Indians arrived on the shore soon enough to fire many balls on the batteau before it could be got under way. No sooner had our batteau-men escaped, by favour of the rapidity of the current, beyond

the reach of musket-shot, than death seemed only to have been avoided in one form to be encountered in another not less terrible. Prominent rocks, latent shelves, absorbing eddies, and abrupt descents, for a quarter of a mile, afforded scarcely the smallest chance of escaping without a miracle. Putnam, trusting himself to a good Providence, whose kindness he had often experienced, rather than to men, whose tenderest mercies are cruelty, was now seen to place himself sedately at the helm, and afforded an astonishing spectacle of serenity. His companions, with a mixture of terror, admiration, and wonder, saw him incessantly changing the course, to avoid the jaws of ruin, that seemed

expanded to swallow the whirling boat.

Twice he turned it fairly round to shun the rifts of rocks. Amidst these eddies, in which there was the greatest danger of its foundering, at one moment the sides were exposed to the fury of the waves ; then the stern, and next the bow glanced obliquely onward, with inconceivable velocity. With not less amazement the savages beheld him sometimes mounting the billows, then plunging abruptly down, at other times skilfully veering from the rocks, and shooting through the only narrow passage ; until, at last, they viewed the boat safely gliding on the smooth surface of the stream below.

At this sight, it is asserted, that



THE BOAT ADVENTURE.



these rude sons of nature were affected with the same kind of superstitious veneration which the Europeans, in the dark ages, entertained for some of their most valorous champions. They deemed the man invulnerable, whom their balls, on his pushing from shore, could not touch; and whom they had seen steering in safety down the rapids that had never before been passed. They conceived it would be an affront against the *Great Spirit* to attempt to kill this favoured mortal with powder and ball, if they should ever see and know him again.

In the month of August, five hundred men were employed, under the orders of Majors Rogers and Putnam, to watch the motions

of the enemy near Ticonderoga. At South-Bay they separated the party into two equal divisions, and Rogers took a position on Wood-Creek, twelve miles distant from Putnam.

Upon being, some time afterwards, discovered, they formed a reunion, and concerted measures for returning to Fort Edward. Their march through the woods was *in three divisions by FILES*: the right commanded by Rogers, the left by Putnam, and the centre by Captain D'Ell. The first night they encamped on the banks of Clear River, about a mile from old Fort Ann, which had been formerly built by General Nicholson. Next morning Major Rogers, and a British officer named Irwin, in-

cautiously suffered themselves, from a spirit of false emulation, to be engaged in firing at a mark. Nothing could have been more repugnant to the military principles of Putnam than such conduct, or reprobated by him in more pointed terms. As soon as the heavy dew which had fallen the preceding night would permit, the detachment moved in one body, Putnam being in front, D'Ell in the centre, and Rogers in the rear. The impervious growth of shrubs and underbrush that had sprung up, where the land had been partially cleared some years before, occasioned this change in the order of march.

At the moment of moving, the famous French partisan Molang, who had been sent with five hun-

dred men to intercept our party, was not more than one mile and a half distant from them. Having heard the firing, he hastened to lay an ambuscade precisely in that part of the wood most favourable to his project. Major Putnam was just emerging from the thicket, into the common forest, when the enemy rose, and with discordant yells and whoops, commenced an attack upon the right of his division. Surprised, but undismayed, Putnam halted, returned the fire, and passed the word for the other divisions to advance for his support. D'Ell came. The action, though widely scattered, and principally fought between man and man, soon grew general and intensely warm. It would be as difficult as useless to describe

this irregular and ferocious mode of fighting.

Rogers came not up ; but, as he declared afterwards, formed a circular file between our party and Wood-Creek, to prevent their being taken in rear or enfiladed. Successful as he commonly was, his conduct did not always pass without unfavourable imputation. Notwithstanding, it was a current saying in the camp, "that Rogers always *sent*, but Putnam *led* his men to action," yet, in justice, it ought to be remarked here, that the latter has never been known, in relating the story of this day's disaster, to affix any stigma upon the conduct of the former.

Major Putnam, perceiving it would be impracticable to cross

the creek, determined to maintain his ground. Inspired by his example, the officers and men behaved with great bravery; sometimes they fought aggregately in open view, and sometimes individually under cover; taking aim from behind the bodies of trees, and acting in a manner independent of each other. For himself, having discharged his fusce several times, at length it missed fire, while the muzzle was pressed against the breast of a large and well proportioned savage. This warrior, availing himself of the indefensible attitude of his adversary, with a tremendous war-whoop, sprang forward, with his lifted hatchet, and compelled him to surrender; and having disarmed and bound him

fast to a tree, returned to the battle.

The intrepid Captains D'Ell and Harman, who now commanded, were forced to give ground for a little distance; the savages, conceiving this to be the certain harbinger of victory, rushed impetuously on, with dreadful and redoubled cries. But our two partisans, collecting a handful of brave men, gave the pursuers so warm a reception as to oblige them, in turn, to retreat a little beyond the spot at which the action had commenced. Here they made a stand. This change of ground occasioned the tree to which Putnam was tied to be directly between the fire of the two parties. Human imagination can hardly figure

to itself a more deplorable situation. The balls flew incessantly from either side, many struck the tree, while some passed through the sleeves and skirts of his coat. In this state of jeopardy, unable to move his body, to stir his limbs, or even to incline his head, he remained more than an hour—so equally balanced, and so obstinate was the fight!

At one moment, while the battle swerved in favour of the enemy, a young savage chose an odd way of discovering his humour. He found Putnam bound. He might have dispatched him at a blow. But he loved better to excite the terrors of the prisoner, by hurling a tomahawk at his head; or rather it should seem his object was to

see how near he could throw it without touching him—the weapon struck in the tree a number of times at a hair's breadth distance from the mark. When the Indian had finished his amusement, a French bas-officer (a much more inveterate savage by nature, though descended from so humane and polished a nation) perceiving Putnam, came up to him, and, levelling a fuzee within a foot of his breast, attempted to discharge it—it missed fire. Ineffectually did the intended victim solicit the treatment due to his situation, by repeating that he was a prisoner of war. The degenerate Frenchman did not understand the language of honour or of nature: deaf to their voice, and dead to sensibility, he violently, and re-

peatedly, pushed the muzzle of his gun against Putnam's ribs, and finally gave him a cruel blow on the jaw with the but-end of his piece. After this dastardly deed he left him.

At length the active intrepidity of D'Ell and Harman, seconded by the persevering valour of their followers, prevailed. They drove from the field the enemy, who left about ninety dead behind them. As they were retiring, Putnam was untied by the Indian who had made him prisoner, and whom he afterwards called master. Having been conducted for some distance from the place of action, he was stripped of his coat, vest, stockings, and shoes; loaded with as many of the packs of the wounded as could be

piled upon him ; strongly pinioned, and his wrists tied as closely together as they could be pulled with a cord.

After he had marched, through no pleasant paths, in this painful manner, for many a tedious mile, the party (who were excessively fatigued) halted to breathe. His hands were now immoderately swelled from the tightness of the ligature ; and the pain had become intolerable. His feet were so much scratched, that the blood dropped fast from them. Exhausted with bearing a burden above his strength, and frantic with torments exquisite beyond endurance, he entreated the Irish interpreter to implore, as the last and only grace he desired of the savages, that they would

knock him on the head and take his scalp at once, or loose his hands. A French officer, instantly interposing, ordered his hands to be unbound, and some of the packs to be taken off. By this time the Indian who captured him, and had been absent with the wounded, coming up, gave him a pair of moccasins, and expressed great indignation at the unworthy treatment his prisoner had suffered.

That savage chief again returned to the care of the wounded, and the Indians, about two hundred in number, went before the rest of the party to the place where the whole were that night to encamp. They took with them Major Putnam, on whom, besides innumerable other outrages, they had the

barbarity to inflict a deep wound with the tomahawk in the left cheek. His sufferings were in this place to be consummated. A scene of horror, infinitely greater than had ever met his eyes before, was now preparing. It was determined to roast him alive. For this purpose they led him into a dark forest, stripped him naked, bound him to a tree, and piled dry brush, with other fuel, at a small distance, in a circle round him. They accompanied their labours, as if for his funeral dirge, with screams and sounds inimitable but by savage voices. Then they set the piles on fire. A sudden shower damped the rising flame. Still they strove to kindle it, until, at last, the blaze ran fiercely round the circle. Major Putnam soon

began to feel the scorching heat. His hands were so tied that he could move his body. He often shifted sides as the fire approached.

This sight, at the very idea of which all but savages must shudder, afforded the highest diversion to his inhuman tormentors, who demonstrated the delirium of their joy by correspondent yells, dances, and gesticulations. He saw clearly that his final hour was inevitably come. He summoned all his resolution, and composed his mind, as far as the circumstances could admit, to bid an eternal farewell to all he held most dear. To quit the world would scarcely have cost a single pang; but for the idea of home, but for the remembrance of domestic endearments, of the af-

fectionate partner of his soul, and of their beloved offspring. His thought was ultimately fixed on a happier state of existence, beyond the tortures he was beginning to endure. The bitterness of death, even of that death which is accompanied with the keenest agonies, was, in a manner, past—nature, with a feeble struggle, was quitting its last hold on sublunary things—when a French officer rushed through the crowd, opened a way by scattering the burning brands, and unbound the victim. It was Molang himself—to whom a savage, unwilling to see another human sacrifice immolated, had run and communicated the tidings. That commandant spurned and severely reprimanded the barbarians, whose

nocturnal powwas and hellish orgies he suddenly ended. Putnam did not want for feeling or gratitude. The French commander, fearing to trust him alone with them, remained until he could deliver him in safety into the hands of his master.

PUTNAM A PRISONER.

The savage approached his prisoner kindly, and seemed to treat him with particular affection. He offered him some hard biscuit; but finding that he could not chew them, on account of the blow he had received from the Frenchman, this more humane savage soaked some of the biscuit in water, and made him suck the pulp-like part. Determined, however, not to loose

his captive (the refreshment being finished) he took the moccasins from his feet, and tied them to one of his wrists : then directing him to lie down on his back upon the bare ground, he stretched one arm to its full length, and bound it fast to a young tree ; the other arm was extended and bound in the same manner—his legs were stretched apart and fastened to two saplings. Then a number of tall, but slender poles were cut down, which, with some long bushes, were laid across his body from head to foot : on each side lay as many Indians as could conveniently find lodging, in order to prevent the possibility of his escape. In this disagreeable and painful posture he remained until morning.

During this night, the longest and most dreary conceivable, our hero used to relate that he felt a ray of cheerfulness come casually across his mind, and could not even refrain from smiling when he reflected on this ludicrous group for a painter, of which he himself was the principal figure.

The next day he was allowed his blanket and moccasins, and permitted to march without carrying any pack, or receiving any insult. To allay his extreme hunger, a little bear's meat was given, which he sucked through his teeth. At night the party arrived at Ticonderoga, and the prisoner was placed under the care of a French guard. The savages, who had been prevented

from glutting their diabolical thirst for blood, took other opportunity of manifesting their malevolence for the disappointment, by horrid grimaces and angry gestures ; but they were suffered no more to offer violence or personal indignity to him.

After having been examined by the Marquis de Montcalm, Major Putnam was conducted to Montreal by a French officer, who treated him with the greatest indulgence and humanity.

At this place were several prisoners. Colonel Peter Schuyler, remarkable for his philanthropy, generosity, and friendship, was of the number. No sooner had he heard of Major Putnam's arrival, than he went to the interpreter's quarters, and inquired whether he

had a Provincial major in his custody? He found Major Putnam in a comfortless condition—without coat, waistcoat, or hose—the remnant of his clothing miserably dirty and ragged—his beard long and squalid—his legs torn by thorns and briars—his face gashed with wounds and swollen with bruises. Colonel Schuyler, irritated beyond all sufferance at such a sight, could scarcely restrain his speech within limits, consistent with the prudence of a prisoner and the meekness of a Christian. Major Putnam was immediately treated according to his rank, clothed in a decent manner, and supplied with money by that liberal and sympathetic patron of the distressed.

The capture of Frontignac by General Bradstreet afforded occasion for an exchange of prisoners. Colonel Schuyler was comprehended in the cartel. A generous spirit can never be satisfied with imposing tasks for its generosity to accomplish. Apprehensive if it should be known that Putnam was a distinguished partisan, his liberation might be retarded, and knowing that there were officers who, from the length of their captivity, had a claim of priority to exchange, he had, by his happy address, induced the governor to offer, that whatever officer he might think proper to nominate should be included in the present cartel. With great politeness in manner, but seeming indifference as to object,

he expressed his warmest acknowledgments to the governor, and said, "There is an old man here, who is a provincial major, and wishes to be at home with his wife and children; he can do no good here or anywhere else; I believe your Excellency had better keep some of the young men, who have no wife or children to care for, and let the old fellow go home with me." This justifiable finesse had the desired effect, and Putnam was liberated and returned home.

CAMPAIGN OF 1760.

We now arrive at the period when the prowess of Britain, victorious alike by sea and by land, in the new and in the old world, had elevated that name to the

zenith of national glory. The conquest of Quebec opened the way for the total reduction of Canada. On the side of the lakes, Amherst having captured the posts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, applied himself to strengthen the latter. Putnam, who had been raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and present at these operations, was employed the remainder of this and some part of the succeeding season, in superintending the parties which were detached to procure timber and other materials for the fortification.

In 1760, General Amherst, a sagacious, humane, and experienced commander, planned the termination of the war in Canada, by a bloodless conquest. For this pur-

pose, three armies were destined to co-operate, by different routes, against Montreal, the only remaining place of strength the enemy held in that country. The corps formerly commanded by General Wolfe, now by General Murray, was ordered to ascend the river St. Lawrence; another, under Colonel Haviland, to penetrate by the Isle aux Noix; and the third, consisting of about ten thousand men, commanded by the general himself, after passing up the Mohawk river, and taking its course by Lake Ontario, was to form a junction by falling down the St. Lawrence. In this progress, more than one occasion presented itself to manifest the intrepidity and soldiership of Lieutenant-Colonel Putnam. Two

armed vessels obstructed the passage, and prevented the attack on Oswegatchie. Putnam, with one thousand men, in fifty batteaux, undertook to board them. This dauntless officer, ever as sparing of the blood of others as prodigal of his own, to accomplish it with the less loss, put himself, with a chosen crew, a beetle and wedges, in the van, with a design to wedge the rudders, so that the vessels should not be able to turn their broadsides, or perform any other manœuvre. All the men in his little fleet were ordered to strip to their waistcoats, and advance at the same time. He promised, if he lived, to join and show them the way up the sides. Animated by so daring an example, they moved

swiftly, in profound stillness, as to certain victory or death. The people on board the ships, beholding the good countenance with which they approached, ran one of the vessels on shore, and struck the colours of the other. Had it not been for the dastardly conduct of the ship's company in the latter, who compelled the captain to haul down his ensign, he would have given the assailants a bloody reception; for the vessels were well provided with spars, nettings, and every customary instrument of annoyance as well as defence.

It now remained to attack the fortress, which stood on an island, and seemed to have been rendered inaccessible by a high abattis of black ash, that everywhere project-

ed over the water. Lieutenant-Colonel Putnam proposed a mode of attack, and offered his services to carry it into effect. The general approved the proposal. Our partisan, accordingly, caused a sufficient number of boats to be fitted for the enterprise. The sides of each boat were surrounded with fascines, musket proof, which covered the men completely. A wide plank, twenty feet in length, was then fitted to every boat in such manner, by having an angular piece sawed from one extremity, that, when fastened by ropes on both sides of the bow, it might be raised or lowered at pleasure. The design was, that the plank should be held erect while the oarsmen forced the bow with the utmost ex-

ertion against the abattis ; and that afterwards being dropped on the pointed brush, it should serve as a kind of bridge to assist the men in passing over them.

Lieutenant-Colonel Putnam having made his dispositions to attempt the escalade in many places at the same moment, advanced with his boats in admirable order. The garrison perceiving these extraordinary and unexpected machines, waited not the assault, but capitulated. Lieutenant-Colonel Putnam was particularly honoured by General Amherst, for his ingenuity in this invention, and promptitude in its execution. The three armies arrived at Montreal within two days of each other ; and the conquest of Canada became complete

without the loss of a single drop of blood.

At no great distance from Montreal stands the savage village called Cochnawaga. Here our partisan found the Indian chief who had formerly made him prisoner. The Indian was highly delighted to see his old acquaintance, whom he entertained in his own well-built stone house with great friendship and hospitality ; while his guest did not discover less satisfaction in an opportunity of shaking the brave savage by the hand, and proffering him protection in this reverse of his military fortunes.

EXPEDITION TO HAVANA.

When the belligerent powers were considerably exhausted, a

rupture took place between Great Britain and Spain, in the month of January, 1762, and an expedition was formed that campaign, under Lord Albemarle, against the Havana. A body of Provincials, composed of five hundred men from the Jerseys, eight hundred from New York, and one thousand from Connecticut, joined his lordship. General Lyman, who raised the regiment of one thousand men in Connecticut, being the senior officer, commanded the whole: of course, the immediate command of his regiment devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel Putnam. The fleet that carried these troops sailed from New York, and arrived safely on the coast of Cuba. There a terrible storm arose, and the transport

in which Lieutenant-Colonel Putnam had embarked with five hundred men, was wrecked on a rift of craggy rocks. The weather was so tempestuous, and the surf, which ran mountain-high, dashed with such violence against the ship, that the most experienced seamen expected it would soon part asunder. The rest of the fleet, so far from being able to afford assistance, with difficulty rode out the gale. In this deplorable situation, as the only expedient by which they could be saved, strict order was maintained, and all those people who best understood the use of tools, were instantly employed in constructing rafts from spars, plank, and whatever other materials could be procured.

There happened to be on board a large quantity of strong cords (the same that are used in the whale fishery), which, being fastened to the rafts, after the first had with inconceivable hazard reached the shore, were of infinite service in preventing the others from driving out to sea, as also in dragging them athwart the billows to the beach; by which means every man was finally saved. With the same presence of mind to take advantage of circumstances, and the same precaution to prevent confusion on similar occasions, how many valuable lives, prematurely lost, might have been preserved as blessings to their families, their friends, and their country!

As soon as all were landed,

Lieutenant-Colonel Putnam fortified his camp, that he might not be exposed to insult from the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts, or from those of Carthagera, who were but twenty-four miles distant. Here the party remained unmolested several days, until the storm had so much abated as to permit the convoy to take them off. They soon joined the troops before the Havana, who, having been several weeks in that unhealthy climate, already began to grow extremely sickly. The opportune arrival of the Provincial reinforcement, in perfect health, contributed not a little to forward the works, and hasten the reduction of that important place. But the Provincials suffered so miserably by sickness

afterwards, that very few ever returned to their native land again.

CAMPAIGN OF 1764.

Although a general peace among the European powers was ratified in 1763, yet the savages on our western frontiers still continued their hostilities. After they had taken several posts, General Bradstreet was sent, in 1764, with an army, against them. Colonel Putnam, then, for the first time, appointed to the command of a regiment, was on the expedition, as was the Indian chief whom I have several times had occasion to mention as his capturer, at the head of one hundred Cochnawaga warriors.

Before General Bradstreet reached Detroit, which the savages in-

vested, Captain D'Ell, the faithful friend and intrepid fellow-soldier of Colonel Putnam, had been slain in a desperate sally. He having been detached with five hundred men, in 1763, by General Amherst, to raise the siege, found means of throwing succour into the fort. But the garrison, commanded by Major Gladwine, a brave and sensible officer, had been so much weakened by the lurking and insidious mode of war practised by the savages, that not a man could be spared to co-operate in an attack upon them.

The commandant would even have dissuaded Captain D'Ell from the attempt, on account of the great disparity in numbers; but the latter, relying on the discipline and courage of his men, replied, " God

forbid that I should ever disobey the orders of my general," and immediately disposed them for action. It was obstinate and bloody; but the vastly superior number of the savages enabled them to enclose Captain D'Ell's party on every side, and compelled him, finally, to fight his way, in retreat from one stone house to another. Having halted to breathe a moment, he saw one of his bravest sergeants lying at a small distance, wounded through the thigh, and wallowing in his blood. Whereupon he desired some of the men to run and bring the sergeant to the house, but they declined it. Then declaring, "that he never would leave so brave a soldier in the field to be tortured by the

savages," he ran and endeavoured to help him up—at the instant a volley of shot dropped them both dead together. The party continued retreating from house to house until they regained the fort; where it was found the conflict had been so sharp, and lasted so long, that only fifty men remained alive of the five hundred who had sallied.

Upon the arrival of General Bradstreet, the savages saw that all further efforts, in arms, would be vain, and accordingly, after many fallacious proposals for a peace, and frequent tergiversations in the negotiation, they concluded a treaty, which ended the war in America.

Colonel Putnam, at the expi-

ration of ten years from his first receiving a commission, after having seen as much service, endured as many hardships, encountered as many dangers, and acquired as many laurels as any officer of his rank, with great satisfaction laid aside his uniform, and returned to his plough. The various and uncommon scenes of war in which he had acted a respectable part, his intercourse with the world, and intimacy with some of the first characters in the army, joined with occasional reading, had not only brought into view whatever talents he possessed from nature, but, at the same time, had extended his knowledge, and polished his manners, to a considerable degree. Not having become

inflated with pride, or forgetful of his old connexions, he had the good fortune to possess entirely the good will of his fellow citizens. No character stood fairer in the public eye for integrity, bravery, and patriotism. He was employed in several offices in his own town, and not unfrequently elected to represent it in the General Assembly. The year after his return to private life, the minds of men were strangely agitated by an attempt of the British Parliament to introduce the memorable Stamp Act in America. This germ of policy, whose growth was repressed by the moderate temperature in which it was kept by some administrations did not fully disclose its fruit until nearly eleven years af-

terwards. All the world knows how it then ripened into a civil war.

THE STAMP ACT.

On the twenty-second day of March, 1765, the Stamp Act received the royal assent. It was to take place in America on the first day of November following. This innovation spread a sudden and universal alarm. The political pulse in the provinces, from Maine to Georgia, throbbed in sympathy. The Assemblies, in most of these colonies, that they might oppose it legally and in concert, appointed delegates to confer together on the subject. This first Congress met, early in October, at New York. They agreed upon a Declaration of

Rights and Grievances of the Colonists; together with separate Addresses to the King, Lords and Commons of Great Britain. In the meantime, the people had determined, in order to prevent the stamped paper from being distributed, that the stamp-masters should not enter on the execution of their office. That office was conferred on Mr. Ingersol, of New Haven, who was compelled by an insurrection of the people to resign.

Colonel Putnam, who instigated the people to this measure, was prevented from attending by accident. But he was deputed soon after, with two other gentlemen, to wait on Governor Fitch on the same subject. The questions of the governor, and answers of Putnam,

will serve to indicate the spirit of the times. After some conversation, the governor asked, "What he should do if the stamped paper should be sent to him by the king's authority?" Putnam replied, "Lock it up until we shall visit you again." "And what will you do then?" "We shall expect you to give us the key of the room in which it is deposited; and, if you think fit, in order to screen yourself from blame, you may forewarn us, upon our peril, not to enter the room." "And what will you do afterwards?" "Send it safely back again." "But if I should refuse admission?" "In such a case, your house will be levelled with the dust in five minutes." It was supposed that a report of this conversation was one

reason why the stamped paper was never sent from New York to Connecticut.

Such unanimity in the Provincial Assemblies, and decision in the yeomanry, carried beyond the Atlantic a conviction of the inexpediency of attempting to enforce the new revenue system. The Stamp Act being repealed, and the measures in a manner quieted, Colonel Putnam continued to labour with his own hands, at farming, without interruption, except, for a little time, by the loss of the first joint of his right thumb from one accident, and the compound fracture of his right thigh from another: that thigh, being rendered nearly an inch shorter than the left, occasioned him ever to limp in his walk.

The Provincial officers and soldiers from Connecticut, who survived the conquest of the Havana, appointed General Lyman to receive the remainder of their prize money, in England. A company, composed partly of military, and partly of other gentlemen, whose object was to obtain from the crown a grant of land on the Mississippi, also committed to him the negotiation of their affairs. When several years had elapsed in applications, a grant of land was obtained. In 1770, General Lyman, with Colonel Putnam, and two or three others, went to explore the situation. After a tedious voyage, and a laborious passage up the Mississippi, they accomplished their business.

General Lyman came back to

Connecticut with the explorers, but soon returned to Natchez: there formed an establishment and laid his bones. Colonel Putnam placed some labourers with provisions and farming utensils upon his location; but the increasing troubles shortly after ruined the prospect of deriving any advantage from that quarter.

OPENING OF THE REVOLUTION.

The Revolution now broke forth; and all eyes were turned to find the men who, possessed of military experience, would dare, in the approaching hour of severest trial, to lead their undisciplined fellow-citizens to battle. For none were so stupid as not to comprehend, that want of success would involve the leaders in the punishment of re-

bellion. Putnam was among the first and most conspicuous who stepped forth. Although the Americans had been, by many who wished their subjugation, indiscreetly as indiscriminately stigmatized with the imputation of cowardice—he felt—he knew for himself, he was no coward; and from what he had seen and known, he believed that his countrymen, driven to the extremity of defending their rights by arms, would find no difficulty in wiping away the ungenerous aspersion.

As he happened to be often at Boston, he held many conversations, on these subjects, with General Gage, the British Commander in Chief, Lord Percy, Colonel Sheriff, Colonel Small,

and many officers with whom he had formerly served, who were now at the head-quarters. Being often questioned, "in case the dispute should proceed to hostilities, what part he would really take?" he always answered, "with his country; and that, let whatever might happen, he was prepared to abide the consequence." Being interrogated, "whether *he*, who had been a witness to the prowess and victories of the British fleets and armies, did not think them equal to the conquest of a country which was not the owner of a single ship, regiment, or magazine?" he rejoined, that "he could only say, justice would be on our side, and the event with Providence: but that he had calculated,

if it required six years for the combined forces of England and her colonies to conquer such a feeble country as Canada, it would, at least, take a very long time for England alone to overcome her own widely extended colonies, which were much stronger than Canada: That when men fought for everything dear, in what they believed to be the most sacred of all causes, and in their own native land, they would have great advantages over their enemies who were not in the same situation; and that, having taken into view all circumstances, for his own part, he fully believed that America would not be so easily conquered by England as those gentlemen seemed to expect." Being once, in particular, asked,

“whether he did not seriously believe that a well appointed British army of five thousand veterans could march through the whole continent of America?” he replied briskly, “No doubt, if they behaved civilly, and paid well for everything they wanted;—but”—after a moment’s pause added—“if they should attempt it in a hostile manner (though the American men were out of the question), the women, with their ladles and broomsticks, would knock them all on the head before they had got half way through.” This was the tenor, our hero often said, of these amicable interviews; and thus, as it commonly happens in disputes about future events which depend on opinion, they parted

without conviction, no more to meet in a friendly manner, until after the appeal should have been made to Heaven, and the issue confirmed by the sword. In the mean time, to provide against the worst contingency, the militia in the several colonies was sedulously trained; and those select companies, the flower of our youth, which were denominated minute-men, agreeably to the indication of their name, held themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning.

BATTLE OF LEXINGTON.

At length the fatal day arrived, when hostilities commenced. General Gage, in the evening of the 18th of April, 1775, detached from Boston the grenadiers and light



BATTLE OF LEXINGTON.



infantry of the army, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, to destroy some military and other stores deposited by the province at Concord. About sunrise the next morning, the detachment, on marching into Lexington, fired upon a company of militia who had just reassembled; for having been alarmed late at night, with reports that the regulars were advancing to demolish the stores, they collected on their parade, and were dismissed with orders to reassemble at beat of drum. It is established by the affidavits of more than thirty persons who were present, that the first fire, which killed eight of the militia, then beginning to disperse, was given by the British without provocation. The spark of war,

thus kindled, ran with unexampled rapidity, and raged with unwonted violence. To repel the aggression, the people of the bordering towns spontaneously rushed to arms, and poured their scattering shot from every convenient station upon the regulars, who, after marching to Concord and destroying the magazine, would have found their retreat intercepted, had they not been reinforced by Lord Percy, with the battalion companies of three regiments, and a body of marines. Notwithstanding the junction, they were hard pushed, and pursued until they could find protection from their ships. Of the British, two hundred and eighty-three were killed, wounded, and taken. The Americans had thirty-nine killed,

nineteen wounded, and two made prisoners.

PUTNAM A MAJOR-GENERAL.

Nothing could exceed the celerity with which the intelligence flew everywhere, that blood had been shed by the British troops. The country, in motion, exhibited but one scene of hurry, preparation, and revenge. Putnam, who was ploughing when he heard the news, left his plough in the middle of the field, unyoked his team, and without waiting to change his clothes, set off for the theatre of action. But finding the British retreated to Boston, and invested by a sufficient force to watch their movements, he came back to Connecticut, levied a regiment, under authority of the

legislature, and speedily returned to Cambridge. He was now promoted to be a major-general on the Provincial staff, by his colony ; and, in a little time, confirmed by Congress, in the same rank on the Continental establishment. General Ward, of Massachusetts, by common consent, commanded the whole ; and the celebrated Dr. Warren was made a major-general.

Not long after this period, the British commander-in-chief found the means to convey a proposal, privately, to General Putnam, that if he would relinquish the rebel party, he might rely upon being made a major-general on the British establishment, and receiving a great pecuniary compensation for his services. General Putnam

spurned at the offer ; which, however, he thought prudent at that time to conceal from public notice.

Though the commanding officers from the four colonies of New-England were in a manner independent, they acted harmoniously in concert. The first attention had been prudently directed towards forming some little redoubts and intrenchments ; for it was well known that lines, however slight or untenable, were calculated to inspire raw soldiers with a confidence in themselves. The next care was to bring the live stock from the islands in Boston bay, in order to prevent the enemy (already surrounded by land) from making use of them for fresh provisions.

In the latter end of May, be-

tween two and three hundred men were sent to drive off the stock from Hog and Noddle islands, which are situated on the north-east side of Boston harbour. Advantage having been taken of the ebb-tide, when the water is fordable between the main and Hog island, as it is between that and Noddle island, the design was effected. But a skirmish ensued, in which some of the marines, who had been stationed to guard them, were killed: and as the firing continued between the British water-craft and our party, a reinforcement of three hundred men, with two pieces of artillery, was ordered to join the latter. General Putnam took the command, and having himself gone down on the beach, within conversing dis-

tance, and *ineffectually* ordered the people on board an armed schooner to strike, he plied her with shot so furiously that the crew made their escape, and the vessel was burnt. An armed sloop was likewise so much disabled as to be towed off by the boats of the fleet. Thus ended this affair, in which several hundred sheep, and some cattle were removed from under the muzzles of the enemy's cannon, and our men accustomed to stand fire, by being for many hours exposed to it without meeting with any loss.

BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.

The Provincial generals having received advice that the British commander-in-chief designed to

take possession of the heights on the peninsula of Charlestown, detached a thousand men in the night of the 16th of June, under the orders of General Warren, to intrench themselves upon one of these eminences, named Bunker Hill. Though retarded by accidents from beginning the work until nearly midnight, yet, by dawn of day, they had constructed a redoubt about eight rods square, and commenced a breast-work from the left to the low grounds; which an insufferable fire from the shipping, floating batteries, and cannon on Copp's Hill, in Boston, prevented them from completing.

At mid-day four battalions of foot, ten companies of grenadiers, and ten companies of light-infantry,

BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.





with a proportion of artillery, commanded by Major-General Howe, landed under a heavy cannonade from the ships, and advanced in three lines to the attack. The light-infantry being formed on the right, was directed to turn the left flank of the Americans; and the grenadiers, supported by two battalions, to storm the redoubt in front. Meanwhile, on application, these troops were augmented by the 47th regiment, the first battalion of marines, together with some companies of light-infantry and grenadiers, which formed an aggregate force of between two and three thousand men. But so difficult was it to reinforce the Americans, by sending detachments across the Neck, which was raked

by the cannon of the shipping, that not more than fifteen hundred men were brought into action.

Few instances can be produced in the annals of mankind, where soldiers, who never had before faced an enemy, or heard the whistling of a ball, behaved with such deliberate and persevering valour. It was not until after the grenadiers had been twice repulsed to their boats, General Warren slain, his troops exhausted of their ammunition, their lines in a manner enfiladed by artillery, and the redoubt half filled with British regulars, that the word was given to retire. In that forlorn condition, the spectacle was astonishing as new, to behold these undisciplined men, most of them without bayo-

nets, disputing with the but-end of their muskets against the British bayonet, and receding in sullen despair. Still the light-infantry on their left would certainly have gained their rear, and exterminated this gallant corps, had not a body of four hundred Connecticut men, with Captains Knowlton and Chester, after forming a temporary breast-work, by pulling up one post-and-rail fence and putting it upon another, performed prodigies of bravery. They held the enemy at bay until the main body had relinquished the heights, and then retreated across the Neck with more regularity, and less loss, than could have been expected. The British, who effected nothing but the destruction of Charlestown by

a wanton conflagration, had more than one-half of their whole number killed and wounded : the Americans only three hundred and fifty-five killed, wounded, and missing. In this battle, the presence and example of General Putnam, who arrived with the reinforcement, were not less conspicuous than useful. He did everything that an intrepid and experienced officer could accomplish.

SIEGE OF BOSTON.

After this action, the British strongly fortified themselves on the peninsulas of Boston and Charlestown ; while the Provincials remained posted in the circumjacent country in such a manner as to form a blockade. In the

beginning of July, General Washington, who had been constituted by Congress commander-in-chief of the American forces, arrived at Cambridge, to take the command. Having formed the army into three grand divisions, consisting of about twelve regiments each, he appointed Major-General Ward to command the right wing, Major-General Lee the left wing, and Major-General Putnam the reserve. General Putnam's alertness in accelerating the construction of the necessary defences was particularly noticed and highly approved by the commander-in-chief.

About the 20th of July, the declaration of Congress, setting forth the reasons of their taking up arms, was proclaimed at the head of the

several divisions. As soon as this memorable paper was read to General Puntam's division, which he had ordered to be paraded on Prospect-Hill, they shouted in three huzzas aloud, Amen! whereat (a cannon from the fort being fired as a signal) the new *standard* lately sent from Connecticut, was suddenly seen to rise and unroll itself to the wind. On one side was inscribed, in large letters of gold, "AN APPEAL TO HEAVEN," and on the other were delineated the armorial bearings of Connecticut, which, without supporters or crest, consist, unostentatiously, of *three Vines*; with this motto, "*Qui transtulit, sustinet*;" alluding to the pious confidence our forefathers placed in the protection of Heaven, on those

three allegorical scions—KNOWLEDGE — LIBERTY — RELIGION — which they had been instrumental in transplanting to America.

The strength of position on the enemy's part, and want of ammunition on ours, prevented operations of magnitude from being attempted. Such diligence was used in fortifying our camps, and such precaution adopted to prevent surprise, as to ensure tranquillity to the troops during the winter. In the spring, a position was taken so menacing to the enemy, as to cause them, on the 17th of March, 1776, to abandon Boston, not without considerable precipitation and dereliction of royal stores.

PUTNAM IN COMMAND AT NEW
YORK.

As a part of the hostile fleet lingered for some time in Nantasket-Road, about nine miles below Boston, General Washington continued himself in Boston, not only to see the coast entirely clear, but also to make many indispensable arrangements. His Excellency, proposing to leave Major-General Ward, with a few regiments, to finish the fortifications intended as a security against an attack by water, in the mean time despatched the greater part of the army to New York, where it was most probable the enemy would make a descent. Upon the sailing of a fleet with troops in the month of

January, Major-General Lee had been sent to the defence of that city; who, after having caused some works to be laid out, proceeded to follow that fleet to South-Carolina. The commander-in-chief was now exceedingly solicitous that these works should be completed as soon as possible, and accordingly gave orders to General Putnam to proceed to New York and resume the command.

Invested with these commands, General Putnam travelled by long and expeditious stages to New York. His first precaution, upon his arrival, was to prevent disturbance, or surprise in the night season. With these objects in view, after posting the necessary guards, he issued his orders. He instituted, likewise,

other wholesome regulations to meliorate the police of the troops, and to preserve the good agreement that subsisted between them and the citizens.

Notwithstanding the war had now raged, in other parts, with unaccustomed severity for nearly a year, yet the British ships at New York, one of which had once fired upon the town to intimidate the inhabitants, found the means of being supplied with fresh water and provisions. General Putnam resolved to adopt effectual measures for putting a period to this intercourse, and accordingly expressed his prohibition in the most pointed terms.

Nearly at the same moment, a detachment of a thousand Conti-

nentals was sent to occupy Governor's Island, a regiment to fortify Red Hook, and some companies of riflemen to the Jersey shore. Of two boats, belonging to two armed vessels, which attempted to take on board fresh water from the watering place on Staten-Island, one was driven off by the riflemen, with two or three seamen killed in it, and the other captured with thirteen. A few days afterwards, Captain Vandeput, of the Asia man of war, the senior officer of the ships on this station, finding the intercourse with the shore interdicted, their limits contracted, and that no good purposes could be answered by remaining there, sailed, with all the armed vessels, out of the harbour. These arrangements and transac-

tions, joined to an unremitting attention to the completion of the defences, gave full scope to the activity of General Putnam, until the arrival of General Washington, which happened about the middle of April.

The commander-in-chief, in his first public orders, "*complimented the officers who had successfully commanded at New York*, and returned his thanks to them as well as to the officers and soldiers under their command, for the many works of defence which had been so expeditiously erected: at the same time he expressed an expectation that the same spirit of zeal for the service would continue to animate their future conduct." Putnam, who was then the only major-

general with the main army, had still a chief agency in forwarding the fortifications, and, with the assistance of Brigadiers Spencer and Lord Stirling, in assigning to the different corps their alarm posts.

Congress having intimated a desire of consulting with the commander-in-chief, on the critical posture of affairs, his Excellency repaired to Philadelphia accordingly, and was absent from the twenty-first of May until the sixth of June. General Putnam, who commanded in that interval, had it in charge to open all letters directed to General Washington, on public service, and if important, after regulating his conduct by their contents, to forward them by express; to expedite the works then erecting; to begin

others which were specified ; to establish signals for communicating an alarm ; to guard against the possibility of surprise ; to secure well the powder magazine ; to augment, by every means in his power, the quantity of cartridges ; and to send Brigadier-General Lord Stirling to put the posts in the Highlands into a proper condition of defence. He had also a private and confidential instruction, to afford whatever aid might be required by the Provincial Congress of New York, for apprehending certain of their disaffected citizens : and as it would be most convenient to take the detachment for this service from the troops on Long-Island, under the command of Brigadier-General Greene, it was re-

commended that this officer should be advised of the plan, and that the execution should be conducted with secrecy and celerity, as well as with decency and good order. In the records of the army are preserved the daily orders which were issued in the absence of the commander-in-chief, who, on his return, was not only satisfied that the works had been prosecuted with all possible despatch, but also that the other duties had been properly discharged.

THE TORPEDO.

It was the latter end of June, when the British fleet, which had been at Halifax waiting for reinforcements from Europe, began to arrive at New York. To obstruct

its passage, some marine preparations had been made. General Putnam, to whom the direction of the whale-boats, fire-rafts, flat-bottomed boats, and armed vessels, was committed, afforded his patronage to a project for destroying the enemy's shipping by explosion. A machine, altogether different from any thing hitherto devised by the art of man, had been invented by Mr. David Bushnell, for submarine navigation which was found to answer the purpose perfectly, of rowing horizontally at any given depth under water, and of rising or sinking at pleasure. To this machine, called the American Turtle, was attached a magazine of powder which was intended to be fastened under the bottom of

a ship, with a driving screw, in such sort, that the same stroke which disengaged it from the machine, should put the internal clock-work in motion. This being done, the ordinary operation of a gun-lock at the distance of half an hour, an hour, or any determinate time, would cause the powder to explode, and leave the effects to the common laws of nature. The simplicity, yet combination discovered in the mechanism of this wonderful machine, were acknowledged by those skilled in physics, and particularly hydraulics, to be not less ingenious than novel. The inventor, whose constitution was too feeble to permit him to perform the labour of rowing the Turtle, had taught his brother to manage it with perfect

dexterity; but, unfortunately his brother fell sick of a fever just before the arrival of the fleet. Recourse was therefore had to a sergeant in the Connecticut troops; who, having received whatever instructions could be communicated to him in a short time, went, too late in the night, with all the apparatus, under the bottom of the Eagle, a sixty-four gun ship, on board of which the British admiral, Lord Howe, commanded. In coming up, the screw that had been calculated to perforate the copper sheathing, unluckily struck against some iron plates where the rudder is connected with the stern.

This accident, added to the strength of the tide which prevailed, and the want of adequate skill in the

sergeant, occasioned such delay, that the dawn began to appear, whereupon he abandoned the magazine to chance, and after gaining a proper distance, for the sake of expedition, rowed on the surface towards the town. General Putnam, who had been on the wharf anxiously expecting the result, from the first glimmering of light beheld the machine near Governor's Island, and sent a whale-boat to bring it on shore. In about twenty minutes afterwards the magazine exploded, and blew a vast column of water to an amazing height in the air. As the whole business had been kept an inviolable secret, he was not a little diverted with the various conjectures, whether this stupendous noise was produced

by a bomb, a meteor, a water-spout, or an earthquake. Other operations of a most serious nature rapidly succeeded, and prevented a repetition of the experiment.

BATTLE OF LONG ISLAND.

On the 22d day of August 1776, the van of the British landed on Long Island, and was soon followed by the whole army, except one brigade of Hessians, a small body of British, and some convalescents, left on Staten Island. Our troops on Long Island had been commanded during the summer by General Greene, who was now sick; and General Putnam took the command but two days before the battle of Flatbush. The instructions to him, pointing in the

first place to decisive expedients for suppressing the scattering, unmeaning, and wasteful fire of our men, contained regulations for the service of the guards, the brigadiers and the field-officers of the day ; for the appointment and encouragement of proper scouts, as well as for keeping the men constantly at their posts ; for preventing the burning of buildings, except it should be necessary for military purposes, and for preserving private property from pillage and destruction. To these regulations were added, in a more diffuse, though not less spirited and professional style, reflections on the distinction of an army from a mob ; with exhortations for the soldiers to conduct themselves manfully in such a cause, and for

their commander to oppose the enemy's approach with detachments of his best troops; while he should endeavour to render their advance more difficult by constructing abbatis, and to entrap their parties by forming ambuscades. General Putnam was within the lines, when an engagement took place on the 27th, between the British army and our advanced corps, in which we lost about a thousand men in killed and missing, with the Generals Sullivan and Lord Stirling made prisoners. But our men, though attacked on all sides, fought with great bravery; and the enemy's loss was not light. .

EVACUATION OF NEW YORK.

The unfortunate battle of Long Island, the masterly retreat from thence, and the actual passage of part of the hostile fleet in the East River, above the town, preceded the evacuation of New York. A promotion of four major-generals and six brigadiers, had previously been made by Congress. After the retreat from Long Island, the main army, consisting for the moment of sixty battalions, of which twenty were Continental, the residue levies and militia, was, conformably to the exigencies of the service rather than to the rules of war, formed into fourteen brigades. Major-General Putnam commanded the right grand division of five brigades, Ma-

jor-Generals Spencer and Greene the centre of six brigades, and Major-General Heath the left, which was posted near King's-Bridge, and composed of two brigades. The whole never amounted to twenty thousand effective men: while the British and German forces, under Sir William Howe, exceeded twenty two thousand: indeed, the minister had asserted in parliament that they would consist of more than thirty thousand. Our two centre divisions, both commanded by General Spencer, in the sickness of General Greene, moved towards Mount Washington, Harlaem Heights, and Horn's Hook, as soon as the final resolution was taken in a council of war, on the 12th of September, to abandon the city.

That event, thus circumstanced, took effect a few days after.

BATTLE AND RETREAT.

On Sunday, the 15th, the British, after sending three ships of war up the North River to Bloomingdale, and keeping up, for some hours a severe cannonade on our lines, from those already in the East River, landed in force at Turtle Bay. Our new levies, commanded by a state brigadier-general, fled without making resistance. Two brigades of General Putnam's division, ordered to their support, notwithstanding the exertion of their brigadiers, and of the commander-in-chief himself, who came up at the instant, conducted themselves in the same shameful manner,

His Excellency then ordered the Heights of Harlaem, a strong position, to be occupied. Thither the forces in the vicinity, as well as the fugitives, repaired. In the meantime General Putnam, with the remainder of his command, and the ordinary out-posts, was in the city. After having caused the brigades to begin their retreat by the route of Bloomingdale, in order to avoid the enemy, who were then in the possession of the main road leading to King's-Bridge, he galloped to call off the pickets and guards. Colonel Humphreys, who was a volunteer in Putnam's division, and acting adjutant to the last regiment that left the city, says he had frequent opportunities, that day, of beholding him, for the

purpose of issuing orders, and encouraging the troops, flying, on his horse covered with foam, wherever his presence was most necessary. Without his extraordinary exertions, the guards must have been inevitably lost, and it is probable the entire corps would have been cut in pieces. When we were not far from Bloomingdale, an aid-de-camp came from him at full speed, to inform that a column of British infantry was descending upon our right. Our rear was soon fired upon, and the colonel of our regiment, whose order was just communicated for the front to file off to the left, was killed on the spot. With no other loss we joined the army, after dark, on the Heights of Harlaem.

Before our brigades came in, we were given up for lost by all our friends. So critical indeed was our situation, and so narrow the gap by which we escaped, that the instant we had passed, the enemy closed it by extending their line from river to river. Our men, who had been fifteen hours under arms, harassed by marching and countermarching, in consequence of incessant alarms, exhausted as they were by heat and thirst, (for the day proved insupportably hot, and few or none had canteens, insomuch, that some died at the brooks where they drank) if attacked, could have made but feeble resistance.

That night our soldiers, excessively fatigued by the sultry march of the day, their clothes wet by a

severe shower of rain that succeeded towards the evening, their blood chilled by the cold wind that produced a sudden change in the temperature of the air, and their hearts sunk within them by the loss of baggage, artillery, and works in which they had been taught to put great confidence, lay upon their arms, covered only by the clouds of an uncomfortable sky. To retrieve our disordered affairs, and prevent the enemy from profiting by them, no exertion was relaxed, no vigilance remitted on the part of our higher officers. The regiments which had been least exposed to fatigue that day, furnished the necessary pickets to secure the army from surprise. Those whose military lives had

been short and unpractised, felt enough besides lassitude of body to disquiet the tranquillity of their repose. Nor had those who were older in service, and of more experience, any subject for consolation. The warmth of enthusiasm seemed to be extinguished. The force of discipline had not sufficiently occupied its place to give men a dependence upon each other. We were apparently about to reap the bitter fruits of that jealous policy, which some leading men, with the best motives, had sown in our federal councils, when they caused the mode to be adopted, for carrying on the war by detachments of militia, from apprehension that an established continental army, after defending the country

against foreign invasion, might subvert its liberties themselves. Paradoxical as it will appear, it may be profitable to be known to posterity, that while our very existence as an independent people was in question, the patriotic jealousy for the safety of our future *freedom* had been carried to such a virtuous but dangerous excess as well nigh to preclude the attainment of our independence. Happily, that limited and hazardous system soon gave room to one more enlightened and salutary. This may be attributed to the reiterated arguments, the open remonstrances, and the confidential communications of the commander-in-chief; who, though not apt to despair of the republic, on this occasion ex-

pressed himself in terms of unusual despondency. He declared, in his letters, that he found, to his utter astonishment and mortification, that no reliance could be placed on a great proportion of his present troops, and that, unless efficient measures for establishing a permanent force should be speedily pursued, we had every reason to fear the final ruin of our cause.

ANOTHER BATTLE.

Next morning several parties of the enemy appeared upon the plains in our front. On receiving this intelligence, General Washington rode quickly to the out-posts, for the purpose of preparing against an attack, if the enemy should advance with that design. Lieuten-

ant-Colonel Knowlton's rangers, a fine selection from the eastern regiments, who had been skirmishing with an advanced party, came in, and informed the general that a body of British were under cover of a small eminence at no considerable distance. His Excellency, willing to raise our men from their dejection by the splendour of some little success, ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Knowlton, with his rangers, and Major Leitch, with three companies of Weedon's regiment of Virginians, to gain their rear; while appearances should be made of an attack in front. As soon as the enemy saw the party sent to decoy them, they ran precipitately down the hill, took possession of some fences and bushes,

and commenced a brisk firing at long shot. Unfortunately Knowlton and Leitch made their onset rather in flank than in rear. The enemy changed their front, and the skirmish at once became close and warm.

Major Leitch having received three balls through his side, was soon borne from the field; and Colonel Knowlton, who had distinguished himself so gallantly at the battle of Bunker Hill, was mortally wounded immediately after. Their men, however, undaunted by these disasters, stimulated with the thirst of revenge for the loss of their leaders, and, conscious of acting under the eye of the commander-in-chief, maintained the conflict with uncommon spirit and

perseverance. But the general, seeing them in need of support, advanced part of the Maryland regiments of Griffith and Richardson, together with some detachments from such eastern corps as chanced to be most contiguous to the place of action.

Our troops this day, without exception, behaved with the greatest intrepidity. So bravely did they repulse the British, that Sir William Howe moved his reserve, with two field pieces, a battalion of Hessian grenadiers, and a company of chasseurs, to succour his retreating troops. General Washington, not willing to draw on a general action, declined pressing the pursuit. In this engagement were the second and third battalions of light infantry,

the forty-second British regiment, and the German chasseurs, of whom eight officers, and upwards of seventy privates were wounded, and our people buried nearly twenty, who were left dead on the field. We had about forty wounded: our loss in killed, except of two valuable officers, was very inconsiderable.

An advantage, so trivial in itself, produced, in event, a surprising and almost incredible effect upon the whole army. Amongst the troops not engaged, who, during the action, were throwing earth from the new trenches, with an alacrity that indicated a determination to defend them, every visage was seen to brighten, and to assume, instead of the gloom of despair, the glow of

animation. This change, no less sudden than happy, left little room to doubt that the men, who ran the day before at the sight of an enemy, would now to wipe away the stain of that disgrace, and to recover the confidence of their general, have conducted themselves in a very different manner. Some alteration was made in the distribution of corps, to prevent the British from gaining either flank in the succeeding night. General Putnam, who commanded on the right, was directed in orders, in case the enemy should attempt to force the pass, to apply for a reinforcement to General Spencer, who commanded on the left.

General Putnam, who was too good an husbandman himself not

to have a respect for the labours and improvements of others, strenuously seconded the views of the commander-in-chief in preventing the devastation of farms, and the violation of private property. For, under pretext that the property in this quarter belonged to friends to the British government, as indeed it mostly did, a spirit of rapine and licentiousness began to prevail, which, unless repressed in the beginning, foreboded, besides the subversion of discipline, the disgrace and defeat of our arms.

Our new defences now becoming so strong as not to admit insult with impunity, and Sir William Howe, not choosing to place too much at risk in attacking us in front, on the 12th day of October,

leaving Lord Percy with one Hessian and two British brigades, in his lines at Harlaem, to cover New York, embarked with the main body of his army, with an intention of landing at Frog's Neck, situated near the town of West Chester, and little more than a league above the communication called King's-Bridge, which connects New York Island with the main. There was nothing to oppose him; and he effected his debarkation by nine o'clock in the morning. The same policy of keeping our army as compact as possible; the same system of avoiding being forced to action; and the same precaution to prevent the interruption of supplies, reinforcements, or retreat, that lately dictated the evacuation

of New York, now induced General Washington to move towards the strong grounds in the upper part of West Chester county.

RETREAT TO JERSEY.

About the same time General Putnam was sent to the western side of the Hudson, to provide against an irruption into the Jerseys, and soon after to Philadelphia, to put that city into a posture of defence. Thither we will now follow him, without attempting to give in detail the skilful retrograde movements of our commander-in-chief, who, after detaching a garrison for Fort Washington, by pre-occupying with extemporaneous redoubts and entrenchments, the ridges from Mile-Square to White Plains, and by

folding one brigade behind another, in rear of those ridges that run parallel with the sound, brought off all his artillery, stores, and sick, in the face of a superior foe; without commenting on the partial and equivocal battle fought near the last mentioned village, or the cause why the British, then in full force, (for the last of the Hessian infantry and British light-horse had just arrived) did not more seriously endeavour to induce a general engagement; without journalizing their military manœuvres in falling back to King's-Bridge, capturing Fort Washington, Fort Lee, and marching through the Jerseys; without enumerating the instances of rapine, murder, lust, and devastation, that marked their progress, and filled our bosoms

with horror and indignation ; without describing how a division of our dissolving army, with General Washington, was driven before them beyond the Delaware ; without painting the naked and forlorn condition of these much injured men, amidst the rigours of an inclement season ; and without even sketching the consternation that seized the states at this perilous period, when General Lee, in leading from the north a small reinforcement to our troops, was himself taken prisoner by surprise ; when every thing seemed decidedly declining to the last extremity, and when every prospect but served to augment the depression of despair—until the genius of one man, in one day, at a single stroke, wrested

from the veteran battalions of Britain and Germany the fruits acquired by the total operations of a successful campaign, and re-animated the expiring hope of a whole nation, by the glorious enterprise at Trenton.

While the hostile forces, rashly inflated with pride by a series of uninterrupted successes, and fondly dreaming that a period would soon be put to their labours, by the completion of their conquests, had been pursuing the wretched remnants of a disbanded army to the banks of the Delaware, General Putnam was diligently employed in fortifying Philadelphia, the capture of which appeared indubitably to be their principal object. Here, by authority and example, he strove to conciliate

contending factions, and to excite the citizens to uncommon efforts in defence of every thing interesting to freemen. His personal industry was unparalleled. His orders, with respect to extinguishing accidental fires, advancing the public works, as well as in regard to other important objects, were perfectly military and proper. But his health was, for a while, impaired by his unrelaxed exertions.

PUTNAM IN PHILADELPHIA.

The commander-in-chief having, in spite of all obstacles, made good his retreat over the Delaware, wrote to General Putnam from his camp above the Falls of Trenton, on the very day he recrossed the river to surprise the Hessians, ex-

pressing his satisfaction at the re-establishment of that general's health, and informing, that if he had not himself been well convinced before of the enemy's intention to possess themselves of Philadelphia, as soon as the frost should form ice strong enough to transport them and their artillery across the Delaware, he had now obtained an intercepted letter, which placed the matter beyond a doubt. He added, that if the citizens of Philadelphia had any regard for the town, not a moment's time was to be lost until it should be put in the best possible posture of defence ; but least that should not be done, he directed the removal of all public stores, except provisions necessary for immediate use, to

places of greater security. He queried whether, if a party of militia could be sent from Philadelphia to support those in the Jerseys, about Mount-Holly, it would not serve to save them from submission? At the same time he signified, as his opinion, the expediency of sending an active and influential officer to inspirit the people, to encourage them to assemble in arms, as well as to keep those already in arms from disbanding; and concluded by manifesting a wish that Colonel Forman, whom he desired to see for this purpose, might be employed on the service.

BATTLES OF TRENTON AND PRINCETON.

The enemy had vainly, as in-





BATTLE OF TRENTON.

cautiously, imagined that to overrun was to conquer. They had even carried their presumption on our extreme weakness and expected submission so far as to attempt covering the country through which they had marched with an extensive chain of cantonments. That link, which the post at Trenton supplied, consisted of a Hessian brigade of infantry, a company of chasseurs, a squadron of light dragoons, and six field pieces.

At eight o' clock in the morning of the 26th of December, General Washington, with twenty-four hundred men, came upon them, after they had paraded, took one thousand prisoners, and repassed the same day, without loss, to his en-

campment. As soon as the troops were recovered from their excessive fatigue, General Washington recrossed a second time to Trenton. On the 2d of January, Lord Cornwallis, with the bulk of the British army, advanced upon him, cannonaded his post, and offered him battle : but the two armies being separated by the interposition of Trenton Creek, General Washington had it in his option to decline an engagement, which he did for the sake of striking the masterly stroke that he then meditated. Having kindled frequent fires around his camp, posted faithful men to keep them burning, and advanced sentinels, whose fidelity might be relied upon, he decamped silently after dark, and by a circuit-

ous route, reached Princeton at nine o'clock the next morning. The noise of the firing, by which he killed and captured between five and six hundred of the British brigade in that town, was the first notice Lord Cornwallis had of this stolen march. General Washington, the project successfully accomplished, instantly filed off for the mountainous grounds of Morristown. Meanwhile his lordship, who arrived by a forced march, at Princeton, just as he had left it, finding the Americans could not be overtaken, proceeded without halting to Brunswick.

PUTNAM AT PRINCETON.

On the 5th of January, 1777, from Pluckemin, General Wash-

ington despatched an account of this second success to General Putnam, and ordered him to move immediately, with all his troops, to Croswick's, for the purpose of co-operating in recovering the Jerseys; an event which the present fortunate juncture, while the enemy were yet panic-struck, appeared to promise. The general cautioned him, however, if the enemy should still continue at Brunswick, to guard with great circumspection against a surprise; especially as they, having recently suffered by two attacks, could scarcely avoid being edged with resentment to attempt retaliation. His Excellency farther advised him to give out his strength to be twice as great as it was; to forward on all the bag-

gage and scattering men belonging to the divison destined for Morristown ; to employ as many spies as he should think proper ; to keep a number of horsemen, in the dress of the country, going constantly backward and forward on the same secret service ; and, lastly, if he should discover any intention or motion of the enemy that could be depended upon, and might be of consequence, not to fail in conveying the intelligence, as rapidly as possible, by express, to head-quarters.

Major-General Putnam was directed soon after to take post at Princeton, where he continued until the spring. He had never with him more than a few hundred troops, though he was only at fifteen

miles distant from the enemy's strong garrison of Brunswick. At one period, from a sudden diminution, occasioned by the tardiness of the militia turning out to replace those whose time of service was expired, he had fewer men for duty than he had miles of frontier to guard. Nor was the commander-in-chief in a more eligible situation. It is true, that while he had scarcely the semblance of an army, under the specious parade of a park of artillery, and the imposing appearance of his head-quarters, established at Morristown, he kept up, in the eyes of his countrymen, as well as in the opinion of his enemy, the appearance of no contemptible force. Future generations will find difficulty in conceiving how a handful

of new-levied men and militia, who were necessitated to be inoculated for the small-pox in the course of the winter, could be subdivided and posted so advantageously, as effectually to protect the inhabitants, confine the enemy, curtail their forage, and beat up their quarters, without sustaining a single disaster.

CAPTAIN M'PHERSON.

In the battle of Princeton, Captain M'Pherson, of the 17th British regiment, a very worthy Scotchman, was desperately wounded in the lungs, and left with the dead. Upon General Putnam's arrival there, he found him languishing in extreme distress, without a surgeon, without a single accommodation, and without a friend to solace the

sinking spirit in the gloomy hour of death. He visited, and immediately caused every possible comfort to be administered to him. Captain M'Pherson, who, contrary to all appearances, recovered, after having demonstrated to General Putnam the dignified sense of obligations which a generous mind wishes not to conceal, one day in familiar conversation, demanded, "Pray, sir, what countryman are you?"—"An American," answered the latter.—"Not a Yankee?" said the other.—"A full-blooded one," replied the general. "I am sorry for that," rejoined M'Pherson, "I did not think there could be so much goodness and generosity in an American, or, indeed, in any body but a Scotchman."

PUTNAM'S STRATAGEM.

While the recovery of Captain M'Pherson was doubtful, he desired that General Putnam would permit a friend in the British army at Brunswick to come and assist him in making his will. General Putnam, who had then only fifty men in his whole command, was sadly embarrassed by the proposition. On the one hand, he was not content that a British officer should have an opportunity to spy out the weakness of his post; on the other, it was scarcely in his nature to refuse complying with a dictate of humanity. He luckily bethought himself of an expedient which he hastened to put in practice. A flag of truce was despatched

with Captain M'Pherson's request, but under an injunction not to return with his friend until after dark. In the evening lights were placed in all the rooms of the College, and in every apartment of the vacant houses throughout the town. During the whole night, the fifty men, sometimes all together, and sometimes in small detachments, were marched from different quarters by the house in which M'Pherson lay. Afterwards it was known that the officer who came on the visit, at his return, reported that General Putnam's army, upon the most moderate calculation, could not consist of less than four or five thousand men.

BRUTALITY OF THE ENGLISH IN
NEW JERSEY.

This winter's campaign, for our troops constantly kept the field after regaining a footing in the Jerseys, has never yet been faithfully and feelingly described. The sudden restoration of our cause from the very verge of ruin was interwoven with such a tissue of inscrutable causes and extraordinary events, that, fearful of doing the subject greater injustice, by a passing disquisition than a proposed silence, I leave it to the leisure of abler pens.

The ill policy of the British doubtless contributed to accelerate this event. For the manner, impolitic as inhuman, in which they managed their temporary conquests,

tended evidently to alienate the affections of their adherents, to confirm the wavering in an opposite interest, to rouse the supine into activity, to assemble the dispersed to the standard of America, and to infuse a spirit of revolt into the minds of those men who had, from necessity, submitted to their power. Their conduct in warring with fire and sword against the imbecility of youth, and the decrepitude of age ; against the arts, the sciences, the curious inventions, and the elegant improvements in civilized life ; against the melancholy widow, the miserable orphan, the peaceable professor of humane literature, and the sacred minister of the gospel, seemed to operate as powerfully, as if purposely intended to kindle the

dormant spark of resistance into an inextinguishable flame. If we add to the black catalogue of provocations already enumerated, their insatiable rapacity in plundering friends and foes indiscriminately; their libidinous brutality in violating the chastity of the female sex; their more than Gothic rage in defacing private writings, public records, libraries of learning, dwellings of individuals, edifices for education, and temples of the Deity; together with their insufferable ferocity, unprecedented indeed among civilized nations, in murdering on the field of battle the wounded while begging for mercy, in causing their prisoners to famish with hunger and cold in prisons and prison-ships, and in carrying

their malice beyond death itself, by denying the decent rites of sepulture to the dead ; we shall not be astonished that the yeomanry in the two Jerseys, when the first glimmering of hope began to break in upon them, rose as one man, with the unalterable resolution to perish in the generous cause, or expel their merciless invaders.

The principal officers, stationed at a variety of well-chosen, and at some almost inaccessible positions, seemed all to be actuated by the same soul, and only to vie with each other in giving proofs of vigilance, enterprise, and valour. From what has been said respecting the scantiness of our aggregate force, it will be concluded, that the number of men, under the orders of

each, was indeed very small. But the uncommon alertness of the troops, who were incessantly hovering round the enemy in scouts, and the constant communication they kept between the several stations most contiguous to each other, agreeably to the instructions of the general-in-chief, together with their readiness in giving, and confidence of receiving such reciprocal aid as the exigencies might require, served to supply the defect of force.

THE FORAGERS DEFEATED.

This manner of doing duty not only put our own posts beyond the reach of sudden insult and surprise, but so exceedingly harassed and intimidated the enemy, that foragers were seldom sent out by them, and

never except in very large parties. General Dickenson, who commanded on General Putnam's left, discovered, about the 20th of January, a foraging party, consisting of about four hundred men, on the opposite side of Millstone, two miles from Somerset Court-house. As the bridge was possessed and defended by three field-pieces, so that it could not be passed, General Dickenson, at the head of four hundred militia, broke the ice, crossed the river where the water was about three feet deep, resolutely attacked, and totally defeated the foragers. Upon their abandoning the convoy, a few prisoners, forty wagons, and more than a hundred draught horses, with a considerable booty of cattle and sheep, fell into his hands.

SKIRMISHES.

Nor were our operations on General Putnam's right flank less fortunate. To give countenance to the numerous friends of the British government in the county of Monmouth appears to have been a principal motive with Sir William Howe for stretching the chain of his cantonments, by his own confession, previously to his disaster, rather too far. After that chain became broken, as I have already related, by the blows at Trenton and Princeton, he was obliged to collect, during the rest of the winter, the useless remains in his barracks at Brunswick. In the meantime, General Putnam was much more successful in his attempts to protect

our dispersed and dispirited friends in the same district ; who, environed on every side by envenomed adversaries, remained inseparably riveted in affection to American independence. He first detached Colonel Gurney, and afterwards Major Davis, with such parties of militia as could be spared, for their support. Several skirmishes ensued, in which our people had always the advantage. They took at different times, many prisoners, horses, and wagons from foraging parties. In effect, so well did they cover the country, as to induce some of the most respectable inhabitants to declare, that the security of the persons, as well as the salvation of the property of many friends to freedom was owing to the

spirited exertions of these two detachments ; who, at the same time that they rescued the country from the tyranny of tories, afforded an opportunity for the militia to recover from their consternation, to embody themselves in warlike array, and to stand on their defence.

During this period, General Putnam having received unquestionable intelligence that a party of refugees, in British pay, had taken post, and were erecting a kind of redoubt at Lawrence's Neck, sent Colonel Nelson, with one hundred and fifty militia, to surprise them. That officer conducted with so much secrecy and decision as to take the whole prisoners. These refugees were commanded by Major Stockton, belonging to Skinner's bri-

gade, and amounted to sixty in number.

A short time after this event, Lord Cornwallis sent out another foraging party towards Bound-Brook. General Putnam, having received notice from his scouts, detached Major Smith, with a few riflemen, to annoy the party, and followed himself with the rest of his force. Before he could come up, Major Smith, who had formed an ambush, attacked the enemy, killed several horses, took a few prisoners, and sixteen baggage-wagons, without sustaining any injury. By such operations, our hero, in the course of the winter, captured nearly a thousand prisoners.

In the latter part of February,

General Washington advised General Putnam, that, in consequence of a large accession of strength from New York to the British army at Brunswick, it was to be apprehended they would soon make a forward movement towards the Delaware: in which case the latter was directed to cross the river with his actual force, to assume the command of the militia who might assemble to secure the boats on the west side of the Delaware, and to facilitate the passage of the rest of the army. But the enemy did not remove from their winter-quarters until the season arrived when green forage could be supplied.

In the intermediate period, the correspondence on the part of

General Putnam with the commander-in-chief consisted principally of reports and inquiries concerning the treatment of some of the following descriptions of persons: either of those who came within our lines with flags and pretended flags, or who had taken protection from the enemy, or who had been reputed disaffected to our cause, or who were designed to be comprehended in the American proclamation, which required that those who had taken protections should give them to the nearest American officer, or go within the British lines. The letters of his Excellency in return, generally advisory, were indicative of confidence and approbation.

PUTNAM ORDERED TO THE HIGHLANDS.

When the spring had now so far advanced that it was obvious the enemy would soon take the field, the commander-in-chief, after desiring General Putnam to give the officer who was to relieve him at Princeton, all the information necessary for the conduct of that post, appointed that general to the command of a separate army in the Highlands of New York.

It is scarcely decided, from any documents yet published, whether the preposterous plans prosecuted by the British generals in the campaign of 1777, were altogether the result of their orders from home, or whether they partly origi-

nated from the contingencies of the moment. The system which, at the time, tended to puzzle all human conjecture, when developed, served also to contradict all reasonable calculation. Certain it is, the American commander-in-chief was, for a considerable time, so perplexed with contradictory appearances, that he knew not how to distribute his troops, with his usual discernment, so as to oppose the enemy with equal prospect of success in different parts. The gathering tempests menaced the northern frontiers, the posts in the Highlands, and the city of Philadelphia; but it was still doubtful where the fury of the storm would fall. At one time Sir William Howe was forcing his way by

land to Philadelphia; at another, relinquishing the Jerseys; at a third, facing round to make a sudden inroad; then embarking with all the forces that could be spared from New York; and then putting out to sea, at the very moment when Burgoyne had reduced Ticonderoga, and seemed to require a co-operation in another quarter.

On our side, we have seen that the old Continental army expired with the year 1776; since which, invention had been tortured with expedients, and zeal with efforts to levy another: for, on the success of the recruiting service, depended the salvation of the country. The success was such as not to puff us up to presumption, or depress us to despair.

The army in the Jerseys, under the orders of the general in chief, consisted of all the troops raised south of the Hudson ; that in the northern department, of the New Hampshire brigade, two brigades of Massachusetts, and the brigade of New York, together with some irregular corps ; and that in the Highlands, of the remaining two brigades of Massachusetts, the Connecticut line, consisting of two brigades, the brigade of Rhode Island, and one regiment of New York. Upon hearing of the loss of Ticonderoga, and the progress of the British towards Albany, General Washington ordered the northern army to be reinforced with the two brigades of Massachusetts, then in the Highlands ; and, upon finding

the army under his immediate command out-numbered by that of Sir William Howe, which had, by the circuitous route of the Chesapeake, invaded Pennsylvania, he also called from the Highlands one of the Connecticut brigades, and that of Rhode Island, to his own assistance.

In the neighbourhood of General Putnam there was no enemy capable of exciting alarms. The army left at New York seemed only designed for its defence. In it were several entire corps, composed of tories, who had flocked to the British standard. There was, besides, a band of lurking miscreants, not properly enrolled, who staid chiefly at West Chester; from whence they infested the country

between the two armies, pillaged the cattle, and carried off the peaceable inhabitants. It was an unworthy policy in British generals to patronize banditti. The whig inhabitants on the edge of our lines, and still lower down, who had been plundered in a merciless manner, delayed not to strip the tories in return. People most nearly connected and allied frequently became most exasperated and inveterate in malice. Then the ties of fellowship were broken—then friendship itself, being soured to enmity, the mind readily gave way to private revenge, uncontrolled retaliation, and all the deforming passions that disgrace humanity. Enormities, almost without a name, were perpetrated, at the description of which,

the bosom not frozen to apathy, must glow with a mixture of pity and indignation.

To prevent the predatory incursions from below, and to cover the county of West Chester, General Putnam detached from his headquarters at Peek's-Kill, Meigs's regiment, which, in the course of the campaign, struck several partisan strokes, and achieved the objects for which it was sent. He likewise took measures, without noise or ostentation, to secure himself from being surprised and carried within the British lines by the tories, who had formed a plan for the purpose. The information of this intended enterprise, conveyed to him through several channels, was corroborated by that obtained

and transmitted by the commander-in-chief.

It was not wonderful that many of these tories were able, undiscovered, to penetrate far into the country, and even to go with letters or messages from one British army to another. The inhabitants who were well affected to the royal cause, afforded them every possible support, and their own knowledge of the different routes gave them a farther facility in performing their perigrinations. Sometimes the most active loyalists, as the tories wished to denominate themselves, who had gone into the British posts, and received promises of commissions upon enlisting a certain number of soldiers, came back again secretly with recruiting instructions.

Sometimes these, and others who came from the enemy within the verge of our camps, were detected and condemned to death, in conformity to the usages of war. But the British generals, who had an unlimited supply of money at their command, were able to pay with so much liberality, that emissaries could always be found. Still, it is thought that the intelligence of the American commanders was, at least, equally accurate; notwithstanding the poverty of their military chest, and the inabilities of rewarding mercenary agents for secret services in proportion to their risk and merit.

PALMER THE SPY.

A person by the name of Palmer, who was a lieutenant in the tory new levies, was detected in the camp at Peek's Kill. Governor Tryon, who commanded the new levies, reclaimed him as a British officer, represented the heinous crime of condemning a man commissioned by his majesty, and threatened vengeance in case he should be executed. General Putnam wrote the following pithy reply.

"SIR,

"Nathan Palmer, a lieutenant in your king's service, was taken in my camp as a *Spy*—he was tried as a *Spy*—he was condemned as a *Spy*—and you may rest as-

sured, sir, he shall be hanged as a *Spy.*"

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"ISRAEL PUTNAM.

"*His Excellency* Gov. TRYON.

"P.S. Afternoon. He is hanged."

CAPTURE OF FORT MONTGOMERY.

Important transactions soon occurred. Not long after the two brigades had marched from Peek's Kill to Pennsylvania, a reinforcement arrived at New York from Europe. Appearances indicated that offensive operations would follow. General Putnam having been reduced in force to a single brigade in the field, and a single regiment in garrison at Fort Montgomery, repeatedly informed the commander-in-chief, that the posts com-

mitted to his charge must in all probability be lost in case an attempt should be made upon them; and that, circumstanced as he was, he could not be responsible for the consequences. His situation was certainly to be lamented; but it was not in the power of the commander-in-chief to alter it, except by authorising him to call upon the militia for aid—an aid always precarious, and often so tardy, as, when obtained, to be of no utility.

On the 5th of October, Sir Henry Clinton came up the North River with three thousand men. After making many feints to mislead attention, he landed, the next morning, at Stony Point, and commenced his march over the mountains to Fort Montgomery. Governor Clin-

ton, an active, resolute, and intelligent officer, who commanded the garrison, upon being apprised of the movement, despatched a letter, by express, to General Putnam for succour. By the treachery of the messenger, the letter miscarried. General Putnam, astonished at hearing nothing respecting the enemy, rode, with General Parsons, and Colonel Root, his adjutant general, to reconnoitre them at King's Ferry. In the meantime, at five o'clock in the afternoon, Sir Henry Clinton's columns, having surmounted the obstacles and barriers of nature, descended from Thunder Hill, through thickets impassible but for light troops, and attacked the different redoubts. The garrison, inspired by the conduct of their

leaders, defended the works with distinguished valour. But, as the post had been designed principally to prevent the passing of ships, and as an assault in rear had not been expected, the works on the land side were incomplete and untenable. In the dusk of twilight, the British entered with their bayonets fixed. Their loss was inconsiderable. Nor was that of the garrison great. Governor Clinton, his brother General James Clinton, Colonel Dubois, and most of the officers and men effected their escape under cover of the thick smoke and darkness that suddenly prevailed. The capture of this fort by Sir Henry Clinton, together with the consequent removal of the chains and booms that obstructed the naviga-

tion, opened a passage to Albany, and seemed to favour a junction of his force with that of General Burgoyne. But the latter having been compelled to capitulate a few days after this event, and great numbers of militia having arrived from New England, the successful army returned to New York; yet not before a detachment from it, under the orders of General Vaughn, had burnt the defenceless town of Esopus, and several scattering buildings on the banks of the river.

Notwithstanding the army in the Highlands had been so much weakened, for the sake of strengthening the armies in other quarters, as to have occasioned the loss of Fort Montgomery, yet that loss

was productive of no consequences. Our main army in Pennsylvania, after having contended with superior force in two indecisive battles, still held the enemy in check ; while the splendid success which attended our arms at the northward, gave a more favourable aspect to the American affairs, at the close of this campaign, than they had ever before assumed.

When the enemy fell back to New York by water, we followed them a part of the way by land. Colonel Meigs, with a detachment from the several regiments in General Parson's brigade, having made a forced march from Crompond to West Chester, surprised and broke up for a time the band of freebooters, of whom he brought

off fifty, together with many cattle and horses which they had recently stolen.

RETALIATION.

Soon after this enterprise, General Putnam advanced towards the British lines. As he had received intelligence that small bodies of the enemy were out, with orders from Governor Tryon to burn Wright's Mills, he prevented it by detaching three parties, of one hundred men in each. One of these parties fell in with and captured thirty-five, and another forty of the new levies. But as he could not prevent a third hostile party from burning the house of Mr. Van Tassel, a noted whig and a committee man, who was forced to go

along with them, naked and bare-foot, on the icy ground, in a freezing night, he, for the professed purpose of retaliation, sent Captain Buchanan, in a whale-boat, to burn the house of General Oliver Delancy, on York Island. Buchanan effected his object, and by this expedition put a period, for the present, to that unmeaning and wanton species of destruction.

While General Putnam quartered at New Rochelle, a scouting party, which had been sent to West Farms, below West Chester, surrounded the house in which Colonel James Delancy lodged, and, notwithstanding he crept under the bed the better to be concealed, brought him to head-quarters before morning. This officer was

exchanged by the British general without delay, and placed at the head of the cow-boys, a licentious corps of irregulars, who in the sequel, committed unheard-of depredations and excesses.

STORY OF MISS SUTTON.

It was distressing to see so beautiful a part of the country so barbarously wasted, and often to witness some peculiar scene of female misery : for most of the female inhabitants had been obliged to fly within the lines possessed by one army or the other. Near our quarters was an affecting instance of human vicissitude. Mr. William Sutton, of Maroneck, an inoffensive man, a merchant by profession, who lived in a decent

fashion, and whose family had as happy prospects as almost any in the country, upon some imputation of toryism, went to the enemy. His wife, oppressed with grief in the disagreeable state of dereliction, did not long survive. Betsey Sutton, their eldest daughter, was a modest and lovely young woman, of about fifteen years old, when, at the death of her mother, the care of five or six younger children devolved upon her. She was discreet and provident beyond her years; but when we saw her, she looked to be feeble in health—broken in spirit—wan, melancholy, and dejected. She said “that their last cow, which furnished milk for the children, had lately been taken away—that they had frequently

been plundered of their wearing apparel and furniture, she believed by both parties—that they had little more to lose—and that she knew not where to procure bread for the dear little ones, who had no father to provide for them”—*no mother*—she was going to have said—but a torrent of tears choaked articulation. In coming to that part of the country again, after some campaigns had elapsed, I found the habitation desolate, and the garden overgrown with weeds. Upon inquiry, I learnt, that as soon as we left the place, some ruffians broke into the house while she lay in bed, in the latter part of the night; and that having been terrified by their rudeness, she ran, half naked, into a neighbouring

swamp, where she continued until the morning—there the poor girl caught a violent cold, which ended in a consumption. It finished a life without a spot—and a career of sufferings commenced and continued without a fault.

Sights of wretchedness always touched with commiseration the feelings of General Putnam, and prompted his generous soul to succour the afflicted. But the indulgence which he showed, whenever it did not militate against his duty, towards the deserted and suffering families of the tories in the State of New York, was the cause of his becoming unpopular with no inconsiderable class of people in that State. On the other side, he had conceived an uncon-

querable aversion to many of the persons who were entrusted with the disposal of tory property, because he believed them to have been guilty of peculations and other infamous practices. But although the enmity between him and the sequestrators was acrimonious as mutual, yet he lived in habits of amity with the most respectable characters in public departments, as well as in private life.

His character was also respected by the enemy. He had been acquainted with many of the principal officers in a former war. As flags frequently passed between the out-posts, during his continuance on the lines, it was a common practice to forward newspapers by

them; and as those printed by Rivington, the royal printer in New York, were infamous for the falsehoods with which they abounded, General Putnam once sent a packet to his old friend General Robertson, with this billet: "Major-General Putnam presents his compliments to Major-General Robertson, and sends him some American newspapers for his perusal—when General Robertson shall have done with them, it is requested they be given to Rivington, in order that he may print some truth."

FORTIFYING OF WEST POINT.

Late in the year we left the lines and repaired to the Highlands; for upon the loss of Fort

Montgomery, the commander-in-chief determined to build another fortification for the defence of the river. His excellency accordingly wrote to General Putnam to fix upon the spot. After reconnoitering all the different places proposed, and revolving in his own mind their relative advantages for offence on the water and defence on the land, he fixed upon WEST POINT. It is no vulgar praise to say, that to him belongs the glory of having chosen this rock of our military salvation. The position for water batteries, which might sweep the channel where the river formed a right angle, made it the most proper of any for commanding the navigation; while the rocky ridges that rose in awful

sublimity behind each other, rendered it impregnable, and even incapable of being invested by less than twenty thousand men. The British, who considered this post as a sort of American Gibraltar, never attempted it but by the treachery of an American officer. All the world knows that this project failed,* and that West Point continues to be the receptacle of everything valuable in military preparations to the present day.

**GENERAL PUTNAM AT READING—
MUTINY QUELLED.**

In order to cover the country adjoining to the Sound, and to support the garrison of West Point, in case of an attack, Major-General Putnam was stationed for the

winter at Reading, in Connecticut. He had under his orders the brigade of New-Hampshire, the two brigades of Connecticut, the corps of infantry commanded by Hazen, and that of cavalry by Sheldon.

The troops, who had been badly fed, badly clothed, and worse paid, by brooding over their grievances in the leisure and inactivity of winter-quarters, began to think them intolerable. The Connecticut brigades formed the design of marching to Hartford, where the General Assembly was then in session, and of demanding redress at the point of the bayonet. Word having been brought to General Putnam, that the second brigade was under arms for this purpose, he mounted his horse, galloped to



PUTNAM AT HORSENECK.



the cantonment, and by an appeal to the patriotic feelings and soldierly pride of the men, he succeeded in completely suppressing the mutiny, and restoring order in the camp.

ADVENTURE AT HORSENECK.

About the middle of winter, while General Putnam was on a visit to his out-post at Horseneck, he found Governor Tryon advancing upon that town with a corps of fifteen hundred men. To oppose these General Putnam had only a picket of one hundred and fifty men, without horses or drag-ropes. He, however, planted his cannon on the high ground, by the meeting-house, and retarded their approach by firing several times, until, perceiving the horse (supported by the

infantry) about to charge, he ordered the picket to provide for their safety by retiring to a swamp inaccessible to horse, and secured his own, by plunging down the steep precipice at the church upon a full trot. This precipice is so steep, where he descended, as to have artificial stairs, composed of nearly one hundred stone steps, for the accommodation of foot passengers. There the dragoons, who were but a sword's length from him, stopped short; for the declivity was so abrupt, that they ventured not to follow; and, before they could gain the valley, by going round the brow of the hill in the ordinary road, he was far enough beyond their reach. He continued his route, unmolested, to Stanford;

from whence, having strengthened his picket by the junction of some militia, he came back again, and, in turn, pursued Governor Tryon in his retreat. As he rode down the precipice, one ball, of the many fired at him, went through his beaver : but Governor Tryon, by way of compensation for spoiling his hat, sent him soon afterwards, as a present, a complete suit of clothes.

In the retreat of the enemy, though with a very inferior force, General Putnam made about fifty prisoners, part of whom were wounded, and the whole were the next day sent, under the escort of an officer's guard, to the British lines for exchange. It was for the humanity and kindness of Putnam

to the wounded prisoners, that Governor Tryon complimented him with the "suit of clothes."

CAMPAIGN OF 1779.

In the campaign of 1779, which terminated the career of General Putnam's services, he commanded the Maryland line, posted at Buttermilk Falls, about two miles below West Point. He was happy in possessing the friendship of the officers of that line, and in living on terms of hospitality with them. Indeed, there was no family in the army that lived better than his own. The general, his second son, Major Daniel Putnam, and the writer of these memoirs, Col. Humphreys, composed that family. This campaign, principally spent in strength-

ening the works of West Point, was only signalized for the storming of Stony Point, by the light-infantry under the conduct of General Wayne, and the surprise of the post of Powles Hook by the corps under the command of Colonel Henry Lee. When the army quitted the field and marched to Morristown, into winter-quarters, General Putnam's family went into Connecticut for a few weeks. In December, the general began his journey to Morristown. Upon the road between Pomfret and Hartford, he felt an unusual torpor slowly pervading his right hand and foot. The heaviness crept gradually on, until it had deprived him of the use of his limbs on that side, in a considerable degree,

before he reached the house of his friend, Colonel Wadsworth. Still he was unwilling to consider his disorder of the paralytic kind, and endeavoured to shake it off by exertion. Having found that impossible, a temporary dejection, disguised, however, under a veil of assumed cheerfulness, succeeded. But reason, philosophy, and religion, soon reconciled him to his fate.

In that situation he remained till the close of life, favoured with such a portion of bodily activity as enabled him to walk and to ride moderately ; and retaining, unimpaired, his relish for enjoyment, his love of pleasantries, his strength of memory, and all the faculties of his mind. As a proof that his powers of memory were not weak-

ened, it ought to be observed, that just before his death he repeated, from recollection, all the adventures of his life, which are here recorded, and which had formerly been communicated to the compiler in detached conversations.

In patient, yet fearless expectation of the approach of the King of Terrors, whom he had full often faced in the field of blood, the Christian hero now enjoyed, in domestic retirement, the fruit of his early industry. Having in youth provided a competent subsistence for old age, he was secured from the danger of penury and distress, to which so many officers and soldiers, worn out in the public service, have been reduced.

LAST DAYS OF PUTNAM.

The remainder of the life of General Putnam was passed in quiet retirement with his family. He experienced few interruptions in bodily health, (except the paralytic debility with which he was afflicted) retained full possession of his mental faculties, and enjoyed the society of his friends until the 17th of May, 1790, when he was violently attacked with an inflammatory disease. Satisfied from the first that it would prove mortal, he was calm and resigned, and welcomed the approach of death with joy, as a messenger sent to call him from a life of toil to everlasting rest.

On the 19th of May, 1790, General Putnam ended a life which had been spent in cultivating and defending the soil of his birth.

Much of his life had been spent in arms, and the military of the neighbourhood were desirous that the rites of sepulture should be accompanied with martial honours : they felt that this last tribute of respect was due to a soldier, who, from a patriotic love of country, had devoted the best part of his life to the defence of her rights, and the establishment of her independence—and who, through long trying services, was never once reproached for misconduct as an officer ; but when disease compelled him to retire from service,

left it beloved and respected by the army and his chief, and with high claims to the grateful remembrance of his country.

Under these impressions, the grenadiers of the 11th regiment, the independent corps of artillerists, and with the militia companies in the neighbourhood, assembled each at their appointed rendezvous early on the morning of the 21st, and having repaired to the late dwelling house of the deceased, a suitable escort was formed, attended by a procession of the Masonic brethren present, and a large concourse of respectable citizens, which moved to the Congregational meeting-house in Brooklyn; and, after divine service performed by the Rev. Dr. Whitney, all that was

earthly of a patriot and hero was laid in the silent tomb, under the discharge of volleys from the infantry, and minute guns from the artillery.

THE END.

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